Women and the management of household food security in Paternoster

by

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the gendered social relations that are attached to food, through an exploration of women's management of food and food security in poor households in Paternoster, a small fishing community on the west coast of the Western Cape Province of South Africa. My study explores how women navigate the everyday provision, management and distribution of food within a context of limited resources, with food understood both in terms of sustenance and as implicated in processes whereby gender norms and larger concerns with 'respectability' (*ordentlikheid*) are established and maintained under difficult economic conditions. One of the important strategies employed to ensure food security within households in Paternoster is the establishment and maintenance by and among women of foodways in and between households. An exploration of foodways between households sheds light on the various social networks that exist in Paternoster and the important role of women within these networks.

Paternoster is a space where the navigation of these issues is informed by the long history of subsistence fishing in the area and the symbolism attached to fish and fishing in the ways in which the local fishing community engages with the challenges of food security. Of particular interest is how women manage individual and/or household food security in Paternoster in the light of existing gender dynamics involved in the production, collection and consumption of food. The sharp division of labour historically has meant that women have traditionally been involved in the pre- and post-harvest sector, rather than in the actual catching of fish.

This study is also driven by concerns around the impacts of the changing fishing environment on food security and social relations in this small village. One of the major consequences of these changes is the feeling of impending food insecurity experienced by many households. The increase in mechanization in marine resource use activities, drastic changes in fishing policies and the process of fisheries rights allocations as well as diminishing fish stocks are systematically impacting on the social systems and lived experiences of the people who were, and still are, heavily dependent on the fishing industry in Paternoster for their livelihoods.. Paternoster has seen the development of new sources of employment as a result of the growth of tourism, which has presented women in particular with new work opportunities, including working in guest houses and restaurants. However, this is on the low wage end.

In this context the management of food security within the household and between households through maintaining foodways and established food networks is predominantly the responsibility of women.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie fokus op sosiale verhoudings van gender wat verband hou met voedsel, deur'n verkenning van vroue se bestuur van voedsel en voedselsekerheid in arm huishoudings in Paternoster, 'n klein vissersgemeenskap aan die weskus van die Wes-Kaap Provinsie van Suid-Afrika. My studie verken hoe vroue die daaglikse voorsiening, bestuur en verspreiding van voedsel navigeer in 'n konteks van beperkte hulpbronne, met 'n begrip van voedsel as lewensmiddele sowel as geïmpliseer in prosesse waarin *gender*-norme en 'n gerigtheid op 'ordentlikheid' onder moeilike ekonomiese omstandighede gevestig en onderhou word. Een van die belangrike strategieë wat deur en tussen vroue in huishoudings in Paternoster onderneem word om voedselsekerheid te verseker is die vestiging en onderhouding van voedselnetwerke (*foodways*) in en tussen huishoudings. 'n Verkenning van voedselnetwerke tussen huishoudings werp lig op die verskeidenheid sosiale netwerke wat in Paternoster bestaan en die belangrike rol van vroue in hierdie netwerke.

Paternoster is 'n plek waar die navigasie van hierdie kwessies ingelig word deur die lang geskiedenis van bestaansvissery in die gebied sowel as die simboliek wat aan vis en visvang geheg word in die wyses waarop die plaaslike gemeenskap met die uitdagings van voedselsekerheid handel. Wat van besondere belang is, is hoe vroue individuele en huishoudelike voedselsekerheid in Paternoster bestuur in die lig van die bestaande *gender*-dinamika met betrekking tot die produksie, versameling en gebruik van voedsel. Die skerp historiese geslagsverdeling van arbeid het beteken dat vroue tradisioneel betrokke was in die voor- en na-oes proses, eerder as in die werklike vang van vis.

Hierdie studie word ook gemotiveer deur kommer oor die impak wat die veranderende vissery-omgewing op voedselsekerheid en sosiale verhoudings in hierdie dorpie het. Een van die belangrikste gevolge van hierdie veranderinge is die gevoel van dreigende voedselonsekerheid wat deur talle huishoudings ondervind word.

Die toename in meganisering in die aktiwiteite rondom die gebruik van mariene hulpbronne, die drastiese veranderinge in visserybeleid en die toekenningsproses van visregte asook die afname in visbronne impakteer sistemies op die sosiale sisteme en ervaring van die mense wat sterk afhanklik was van die visindustrie in Paternoster vir hul leeftog afhanklik was en nog steeds is.

Paternoster het die ontwikkeling van nuwe bronne van werk ervaar as gevolg van die groei van toerisme. Dit het aan vroue veral nuwe werksgeleenthede gebied, insluitend werk in gastehuise en restourante. Hierdie werk was egter op die lae loonvlak. In hierdie konteks is die bestuur van voedselsekerheid binne die huishouding en tussen huishoudings, deur die handhawing van *foodways* en gevestigde voedselnetwerke hoofsaaklik die verantwoordelikheid van vroue.

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I am indebted to The Food Security Initiative at Stellenbosch University for making this study possible through the bursary that I was awarded. I would like to express my deepest gratitude for this opportunity. This study would not have been possible without their financial assistance.

I would like to thank the people of Paternoster among whom I worked and where I received so much hospitality. I would like to thank the family, Aunty Joey van Wyk and Oom Hennie van Wyk, who opened their home to me and who made me feel like part of the family. The richness of this thesis would have been lost without the stories of the friendly people of Paternoster.

Completing this thesis would have been all the more difficult had it not been for the constant support of my family and friends who were always quietly cheering from the sideline. I would like particularly to acknowledge my mother who as a single parent raised two children. It is thanks to my mother, who always managed to secure food in a context of limited resources, that I became interested in the experiences of women. It is to her and the strength that she has displayed that this thesis is dedicated.

Last but not least I would like to thank God for answering my prayers and strengthening me to continue to the end.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Food is at once both substance and symbol. "Food makes life possible but also demonstrates its complexity" (Keeling 2001: 153). In this regard, a consideration of gender relations contextualizes both the consumption of food and the meanings attached to it within power relations operating in households. As I discuss further in Chapter Two, a gendered perspective sheds new light on the social structures, bargaining positions and gender relationships which profoundly influence food security within households that are characterised by patriarchal relations.

With this as my starting point, this study focuses on the gendered social relations that are attached to food, through an exploration of women's management of food and food security in poor households in a small fishing community on the west coast of the Western Cape Province of South Africa. My study explores how women navigate the everyday provision, management and distribution of food within a context of limited resources, with food understood both in terms of sustenance and as implicated in processes whereby gender norms and larger concerns with 'respectability' (*ordentlikheid*) are established and maintained under difficult economic conditions.

My research site, Paternoster, is a space where the navigation of these issues is informed by the long history of subsistence fishing in the area and the symbolism attached to fish and fishing in the ways in which the local fishing community engages with the challenges of food security. Defining 'community' can be problematic as this term is complex and at times ambiguous. A preoccupation with the idea of 'community' can also lead to less attention being afforded to social differences within a given 'community' and in such cases it is often the powerless and minority groups who inadvertently become neglected. I use the term 'community' to refer to the historically constructed fishing community of Paternoster for two reasons. Firstly, the term functions as a convenient tool for referring to a local population and secondly, this is how most of the participants in my study choose to refer to themselves. On more than one occasion the term 'community' (*gemeenskap*) would be used as a means of defending solidarity in spite of numerous differences between community members. The term 'community' as used by the participants in my study refers to a sub-group within the larger group of residents of whom the majority self-identify as Coloured. In my study I focus mainly on this section of the larger Paternoster community. Reasons for this selection will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters to follow[1].

In this introductory chapter I discuss the motivation and rationale for the study, outline my research aims and discuss my methodology, including the motivations shaping my choice of research methods,

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[1] As a means of assuring the anonymity of the people involved in my study I have chosen to give pseudonyms to all the community members I mention throughout this thesis.

my fieldwork experience and discuss the various ethical considerations encountered in the field. I also reflect on the limitations of my study and provide a brief description of the site as part of the discussion of my fieldwork experience.

1. Motivation, rationale and research aims for my study

The reason why I have chosen to focus on the role of women in managing food within households in Paternoster is because, given their gender roles, women generally play a vital role in managing food security at this level. According to Van Esterik, "it is women's knowledge of food that prevents starvation at the individual and household level" (1998: 229). There is also evidence that suggests that the food security of women and children can be most severely impacted on in cases of poverty and unemployment (Chapman 1987; Sharp 2003; Beardsworth, Bryman, Keil, Goode, Haslam and Lancashire 2002). It has also been argued that the inclusion of women in development initiatives considerably improves food security. This speaks to the importance of considering women's role in food production, management and distribution within households and communities.

What is of particular interest to me is how women manage individual and/or household food security in Paternoster in the light of existing gender dynamics involved in the production, collection and consumption of food. According to Scanlan (2004: 1810), "Research shows key links between female empowerment in the family, household food security, and family welfare and it is important to pursue policies that recognize women's rights and acknowledge their contributions to societal well-being". As is discussed in Chapter Two, the general literature on fishing communities and food security has acknowledged the contribution to food security made by women in their role as managers of household food as well as gatherers of natural resources within fishing communities; however, research has focused largely on the men in these communities and their roles in the procurement of food. In many fishing communities and fisheries there has been a sharp division of labour historically, in which women have traditionally been involved in the pre- and post-harvest sector, rather than in the actual catching of fish. Thus women's work has been in the fishing factories where they are involved in the cleaning and processing of the sea food as well as cleaning and performing general administrative tasks. In addition to this, women are generally in charge of managing their families' educational and health needs in addition to ensuring that their daily dietary needs are met through managing household food budgets and resources as well as preparing food and cooking.

My reasons for choosing to study women's management of food security in Paternoster are also driven by concerns around the impacts of the changing fishing environment on food security and social

relations in this small village. The daily management of household food security in a context of a fishing community where households are largely dependent on the ocean as either the primary or secondary resource triggered my interest. Although not all households in Paternoster depend on marine resources for ensuring food security, they are important sources of nutrition for many, as well as an important source of income. In addition, as discussed further below, the symbolic significance of fish is high in the context of Paternoster, while the tourism industry and consequent employment opportunities are centred around Paternoster's identity as a picturesque fishing village. For these reasons there is a strong focus throughout this thesis on marine resources.

The coastal regions of South Africa have a long history of extensive harvesting of marine resources and this has been intensified in response to increasing population densities, lack of significant alternative employment opportunities and poverty. This is evident in many of the West Coast fishing communities. Fishing forms a vital part in generating income and sustaining the livelihoods of many households in Paternoster, but because of the seasonal nature of fishing, many fishing households have also long been subjected to financial uncertainties as a consequence of a low and irregular income. In addition to the seasonal nature of fishing and the dwindling catches, another reason why many households in Paternoster are considered to be at risk of being food-insecure involves changes to the state's regulatory environment and the fishing quota system for subsistence fishers that has been implemented by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism for subsistence fishers since 1998. In 2005 and 2006 long-term commercial fishing quotas were allocated for the first time in South Africa along with more than 2000 authorisations that have been issued to subsistence fishers who fish for resources such as mussels, east coast rock lobsters, line fish, and oysters for the purpose of food security (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 2008). This entails permits that all fishermen need to have in order to be able to fish legally in ways that are sanctioned and legitimised by the state. Those who are not in possession of a fishing permit whilst fishing are heavily fined. Many of the Paternoster fishermen that I spoke to during my fieldwork said that not everyone who makes a living through fishing and who has applied for a subsistence fishing permit has received a permit to fish, and for those who do have permits, the amount of crayfish and fish that they are permitted to catch per month is insufficient to meet their daily needs. The history of subsistence fishing in South Africa and the implications of the implementation of new fishing regulations on the livelihood of these fishers and fishing communities will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters to follow.

Feelings of uncertainty have been compounded by a history of inadequate policies that has left many small-scale and subsistence fishers unrecognized; according to many fishers the consequent fisheries reform has done little to improve the material living conditions of fishermen. The changing regulatory environment for fishing and the effects thereof on household food security and gender relations will be discussed at length in Chapter Three. These uncertainties have been further heightened by the dwindling

catches which have resulted in numerous retrenchments within the industry. According to Koenana, writing about the West Coast in the early 1990s,

> dwindling catches have meant retrenchment for the entire workforce of some canning factories, while thousands in the fishing and related industries have been placed on short time. The crisis in the crayfish industry, triggered by the slower growth and consequent smaller catches of crayfish, will not only have a significant impact on South Africa's lucrative export market, but also on jobs (1993: 23).

The resulting retrenchments at some canning factories affected women most acutely. Even though it is not uncommon for men to work in fishing factories, the majority of the workforce has long been predominantly comprised of women. In Paternoster very few of the women who used to work in the local canning factories still do so, due to the downscaling of employment opportunities on account of factors such as dwindling fish stocks and increased mechanisation of factory processes which are now less labour-intensive than in the past.

These retrenchments left many women unemployed and in search of other sources of income in order to avoid food insecurity within the household. The additional sources of income sought by women in Paternoster will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters to follow as they have been important for diversifying the strategies employed by women in the management of food security. Despite the loss of employment for many women and men due to the changes in the fishing industry, Paternoster has seen the development of new sources of employment as a result of the growth of tourism, which has presented women with new work opportunities, albeit on the low wage end, including working in guest houses and restaurants.

My project is linked to the larger Stellenbosch University Food Security Initiative which aims to improve knowledge on all aspects of food and nutritional insecurity through a multi-disciplinary process. This initiative involves an inter-disciplinary programme of research spread across several faculties at the University, embracing a range of projects concerned with different issues of food security, including agricultural policy and food security, sustainable food systems, postharvest technology and losses, and nutrition status in communities (Food Security Initiative 2012).

According to Scanlan (2004: 1807), food security entails more than the "simple availability of food" and has several dimensions: "Food security is comprised of three components - food availability, access and utilization". Food availability generally refers to the amount of food imports and the amount of agricultural outputs of the country on a national level. In South Africa this also extends to the available fish stocks along our coast. Access to food refers to the household's ability to obtain food, whether it be at shops or through other sources like farming, fishing, collecting or through established food networks.

"Food access depends largely on household purchasing power, which varies in relation to market integration, price policies and temporal market conditions" (Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Project and World Food Programme 2007: 4). It is important to note that despite the fact that there might be an abundance of food within a country, food availability does not necessarily ensure food access for all people. Thus in the case of Paternoster, even though there are available marine resources, access to these resources is restricted due to the restrictions imposed by fishing regulations and permits. Finally, food utilization refers to how much food is consumed and whether food that is accessed and consumed is safe and of a good quality.

Food insecurity is caused by a variety of factors, including inadequate income and lack of access to resources. However, power relations within households and environmental and larger economic forces are also implicated in food insecurity. According to Altman, Hart and Jacobs, writing specifically about South Africa, "food security cannot be understood in isolation from other developmental questions such as social protection, sources of income, rural and urban development, changing household structures, health, access to land, water and inputs, retail markets, or education and nutritional knowledge" (2009: 346) In addition to these factors, in Paternoster food security has a cyclical or seasonal dimension to it. "Many cultures have a term that translates as the 'hungry season'- the period just before the next harvest when food stocks are lowest. It is during this period that transitory hunger is most widespread" (Runge, et al. 2003: 81). In Paternoster, when the fishing season is closed, there is a period that closely resembles that of the 'hungry season'. During April to November the crayfish fishing season is closed and fishermen are not allowed to catch crayfish. The reason why this can be compared to the 'hungry season' is because crayfish is a major source of income for many fishermen and during the months when the crayfish season is closed, there is a distinct decrease in not only income but availability of food. There is a noticeable difference in attitude among the people, almost an air of festivity once the crayfish season starts in November and the fishermen come back to the shore with their nets full of crayfish. The catch can in turn be sold, shared and consumed and in this way threats of food insecurity can temporarily be thwarted by those who have access to this resource either directly or indirectly.

My project brings an important anthropological dimension to the Food Security Initiative at Stellenbosch University by exploring how issues such as the gendered division of labour, power relations and local social networks among women in particular impact on the food security of households within vulnerable communities. The core focus of my study is household food security in the fishing community of Paternoster, and the role that women play in managing food in the household. "The realization of the individual's right to food takes place within the context of households, often out of the sight of those concerned with food policy and household food security. It also occurs within a culturally defined sexual division of labour and set of gender assumptions" (Van Esterik, 1998: 225). A focus on how food security is managed on a household level enriches the understanding of the ways in

which the community at large could combat food insecurity. The food referred to throughout this thesis encompasses food that is harvested from the sea, collected from the shore and veld, and bought in shops and supermarkets. It also involves food that is given and loaned, as well as food that is reciprocally loaned and in some cases loaned in order to be able to borrow food from later. My study starts from the recognition that food security is not something that can be understood solely in terms of nutrition. To understand food security in all its dimensions, the social aspects of food access, availability and utilisation within households and communities need to be taken into account as well.

With this as my larger frame, my research aims to:

- Explore the role women play in managing food in the household in a context of poverty and irregular income opportunities in what, historically, has been a fishing community but is currently facing major challenges in this regard;
- Unpack to what extent new income opportunities and a decline in traditional male jobs may be impacting on gender roles and responsibilities around food security in households within this community, and
- Consider the social and symbolic nature of food and the ways in which culturally ascribed meanings to food impacts on household food security.

In designing this study, I aimed to focus on women's roles in household-level choices with regard to food, and to determine what factors contributed to these choices.

2. Research methodology

Because this study is concerned primarily with the experiences of women regarding the management of household food security, the focus of my study is on the strategies that women employ to secure adequate food for themselves and their dependents in both male- and female-headed households in Paternoster. From the outset I was particularly concerned to understand what the experiences and the struggles of women who live in the fishing community were regarding the management of food security. In addition, I was interested in the social networks and what anthropologists and others have termed the 'foodways' (Camp 1982) that these fishing community households have at their disposal, and the role that these 'foodways' and networks have played in the maintenance of household food security. Here 'foodways' refers to the social, cultural and economic practices in the food domain, from the time that food is acquired to when food is discarded. As is discussed further in Chapter Two, this includes the ways in which food moves within and between households, what food is consumed, how it is acquired and who prepares it. 'Foodways' refers to the culturally inscribed social practices related to food and the

power dynamics embedded in these processes (Camp 1982). Camp, in *Foodways in Everyday Life,* states that "foodways consist of a set of dietary and cultural alternatives most fully expressed and exposed in unconscious choices and preferences" (1982: 289).

I chose to examine both households where women are the managers but not the main source of the household's income and households where women are the main or sole providers. Being the manager of income does not necessarily imply that one is also the provider of income. In some cases where there is a working fisherman in the household, he provides the income through fishing but in many cases the responsibility of managing this income and ensuring that the household is food-secure is a responsibility that is delegated to the woman in the household. She is thus not necessarily the provider of income, but plays a crucial role by managing the state of food security within the household through the management of income. There is a distinct difference, and looking at these two aspects has contributed greatly to my understanding of how women manage food security in the household in various ways.

I was particularly interested in studying the changing gender relations in households where the senior adult male or perceived head of the household is unemployed and women have become not only the managers, but also the main providers of income. This shift signals a dramatic change within a community where labour has traditionally been sharply divided along gender lines and men have historically been regarded as the main providers despite the income generated by women through work in the factories or domestic work. In Paternoster fishing has historically been primarily the domain of men and this shift in provider roles sheds light on the strategies employed that are necessary in ensuring that the household remains food secure. Within every household there are very distinct gender divisions which impact directly on consumption patterns. I was very interested in the ways in which the culturally defined gender division of labour within the household would be disrupted in cases where women were making the shift from being primarily the managers of food to becoming providers of food. Many of the women who I interviewed during my study were both the source of income in the household and the managers thereof. This sheds light on the diverse strategies employed by women in their management of household food security. It also reflects the disjuncture between policy implementation and the lived experiences of those affected by these policies, particularly within the fishing industry.

Choice of study site

My choice of Paternoster as my study site was prompted by a field trip I undertook to the area with a group of Honours students from the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of the University of Stellenbosch, at the start of my MA studies in February 2010. The trip lasted three days and was intended to introduce the students to the practice of research in an actual field environment. On this trip I was able to pass freely through the town and to scope out informally the general pattern of

daily activities and interactions of the people living there, prior to committing to the site. After the initial visit to Paternoster, I decided that it would be an ideal site in which to investigate the ways in which women managed food security as well as to interrogate the various gender dynamics at play in this process. My interest in Paternoster had to do with both the history of the town and the current challenges faced by the community.

As already noted, historically Paternoster has been a community that has depended primarily on fishing as a means of acquiring food and generating income. Over time this has changed dramatically due to a variety of reasons like changes in the regulatory environment but also due to gentrification within Paternoster as a result of the growth of the tourism industry. These changes have contributed greatly to the current challenges faced by the community. As I talked informally to people in Paternoster in February 2010 I became aware that many households have had to diversify their strategies employed to ensure food security within their households and I became interested in exploring those strategies.

My own positionality in terms of 'race' was a further motivating factor as it impacted positively on my reception in Paternoster. I do not use the social category of race as a given, but regard it as a construct that is shaped by South Africa's apartheid past. I do, however, use the term for ease of reference and because the people I spoke to in my study use this category to make sense of their world. 'Race' is a concept that is used to categorise and classify humans according to perceived differences in physical traits and characteristics. It is, however, not simply a tool for ease of reference or a way of ordering differences. According to Boonzaier "the term race, when applied to humans, is essentially social and political in meaning and reference" (1988: 58). In South Africa the notion of 'race' is particularly problematic, as the lived experiences of everyone is conditioned by their racial classification which continues to be informed by the racist policies of the apartheid regime. It is because of this that my experience in Paternoster, too, was informed by categories of 'race'. In Paternoster, the majority of the population and the people involved in my study are both categorised and identify themselves as Coloured. People felt comfortable speaking to me not only because they perceived me as also Coloured, but because I speak Afrikaans and this is the language that the majority of the population speaks. Being Coloured meant that there were various cultural references I could draw on in attempts to build rapport with people. I was familiar with the appropriate conduct expected of a guest and especially how to speak to the elderly in a way that was both respectful and endearing. This allowed me to reach a level of familiarity that I think would otherwise not have been as easy. Even though I was an outsider, these factors all contributed favourably to how I was perceived by others. (Further details of the site are given in Chapter Three.)

In Paternoster there are three main residential areas, the historically significant area Kliprug, the newer social housing area Hopland, and the relatively newly developed sections of guest houses where some of

the fishing community used to live. The gentrification of Paternoster and the consequent influx of holiday makers and the construction of holiday homes and guest houses is hugely important, particularly with regard to employment opportunities, and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. The respondents that I interviewed were primarily drawn from Kliprug and Hopland. As discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, the people living in Kliprug tended to be families that were in Paternoster for a few generations and people classified as and for the most self-identifying as Coloured. Hopland, being a more recent development, has a more diverse population, including relatively new residents who are formally classified as 'African' and Xhosa-speaking. My decision to focus on the Coloured people living in Kliprug is based largely on the fact that Kliprug is the historical centre of Paternoster and it forms part of the original fishing community. A contributing factor to my choice to focus my study on people living in Kliprug is because I had greater ease of access to the people living there as opposed to Hopland. This was because I stayed with a family in Kliprug. Establishing and maintaining rapport with those living in Kliprug was easier because they would see me every day as I walked around and spoke to people.

What was interesting to note were the ways in which Kliprug and Hopland differed. The majority of the houses in Kliprug are still the original houses built by a fish factory years ago. The first ones were built in 1911 by Dawie Walters, the owner of Paternoster Fisheries, for his workers. This ensured that they had housing and that they were accommodated relatively close to the factory and the sea. These whitewashed stone houses are situated very close to the beach and today serve as a major tourist attraction because of their picturesque beauty. Not only do they serve as tourist attractions, but there are a number of houses that have been bought and converted into holiday cottages. This has been the cause of considerable tension between the local residents and the new owners as many feel now that they had been hoodwinked into selling their property for less than it was worth. Also, the presence of these holiday houses in the community serve to highlight the stark contrast between the relative local poverty of the majority of the Paternoster community and the wealth of the new owners and the tourists that their homes attract. These issues will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Three.

Hopland has a different social atmosphere with more people in the streets. Many would be busy in the yard, leaning against the front gate, walking down the street, or sitting on the street corner talking with friends. These would generally be men standing together in groups either talking, or sitting in someone's backyard drinking. As mentioned earlier, Hopland is a more recent housing project and an extension of Paternoster and derived its name from the Afrikaans acronym for RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme, used for the social housing projects since 1994), being HOP. Most of Hopland is comprised of state-funded RDP houses and in many of the backyards of these houses there is an informal structure that another household lives in. The socio-economic status in Hopland is also considerably lower than in Kliprug. The differences in socio-economic conditions are reflected in the

differing levels of food security in these two areas. These differences in socio-economic conditions will be discussed at length in Chapter Three. There is also a distinct difference in the social structure of these two areas. This is based on my own observations of Kliprug and Hopland and on what people have told me. As discussed further in Chapter Three, in Hopland the households are larger and there are more dependants per household.

An ethnographic study

For this study I took a constructivist approach in order to obtain a holistic view of the community and the individual struggles that the people of Paternoster are faced with. The constructivist approach recognises the importance of the observer and society in constructing certain patterns in society. It is important to understand how individuals create meaning and there is a need to understand the context in which meaning is given. This interpretation necessitates that the experiences of the community had to be understood within the broader context of Paternoster and its position in the larger context of fishing in southern Africa. The larger context of fishing in South Africa is important because many fishing towns have similar experiences and are also impacted on by the changing regulatory environment and the diminishing fish stocks, all of which have a direct impact on the living conditions and household food security of fishing communities. In order to obtain a nuanced understanding of Paternoster and the experiences of the community members, particularly women and their management of household food security, it was important to adopt an approach that would take into account all of these factors and at the same time offer a credible reflection of community experiences.

My study is geared towards the interpretation of the experiences and behaviour of the people in Paternoster, that of women in particular. I was interested in the ways in which they gave meaning to their lives and experiences and how these in turn influence the ways in which they engage with food from collection to discard. Because of this, I chose to do an ethnographic study of Paternoster as I considered that this methodology would best serve me in my interpretation of their personal experiences, actions and expressions. Through engaging in an ethnographic study of the village, I was able to immerse myself in the community through participant observation. As Dwight Conquergood states in his article *Rethinking Ethnography: towards a critical cultural politics,* ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation "requires getting one's body immersed in the field for a period of time sufficient to enable one to participate inside that culture. Ethnography is an embodied experience; it is an intensely sensuous way of knowing. The embodied researcher is the instrument" (1991: 180).

I recognize that ethnographic research is not merely concerned with the anthropologist and the subjects involved in the study. Ethnographic research involves various interactions and relationships between the

ethnographer, the ethnographic subjects and others that span over a period of time. Living in Paternoster for a period of four months and using participant observation as my main research strategy greatly strengthened my relationship with community members as they became more comfortable with my presence there.

During the preparation for my fieldwork I considered what my attitude was towards the object of the study as well as the limitations affecting data-gathering which could possibly arise from the conditions surrounding the research. It became a challenge to obtain accurate dates when trying to establish a historical timeline of Paternoster through oral history because many of the older respondents often gave conflicting accounts of either historical events of the town or personal histories. Another important limitation that affected my study was the way in which many of the community members responded to me due to my age.

Fortunately I had been to Paternoster on a previous occasion and was familiar with the surroundings. In addition to this, I had read various articles related to Paternoster and was aware of some of the challenges the community was facing with regards to fishing and the acquisition of fishing permits. The actual fieldwork was characterized by an interchange between my personal preparation and perception of Paternoster and the challenges and opportunities the ethnographic site offered. Whilst doing my fieldwork in Paternoster, I was faced with various challenges and opportunities which served to deepen my understanding of the workings of the community. It is in these instances that many of the themes that I engage with in my research arose. Being in Paternoster for an extended period of time made it possible for me to see the daily workings of the community, from the ways in which women start their day with washing and cleaning of their houses to how unemployed men sit on the sand dune looking toward the sea.

Fieldwork

At the start of my fieldwork in Paternoster, the first thing that I needed to do was find a family that was willing to provide me with accommodation for the duration of my stay. I was fortunate enough to find an elderly couple in Kliprug (see map, page 43) who agreed to rent me a room and I made arrangements to move to Paternoster the following month. Kliprug is historically the oldest residential area in Paternoster and houses most of the original workers for the fish factory, Paternoster Visserye. The couple that I lived with have been married for 32 years and do not have children. From the start of my stay in Paternoster they treated me with kindness and made me feel welcome and comfortable staying with them. The husband, Hein, is a fisherman who works for a fishing company in Hout Bay, in Cape Town, and spends most of his time at sea and only comes home every second weekend. With Joy, his

wife, being home alone for the majority of the time he is away and the absence of children, having me stay meant that she had someone to keep her company. This meant that we spent a considerable amount of time together and through her I got to learn a lot about the social workings of the community. She particularly liked to tell me about her years growing up in Cape Town and the transition of her moving to Paternoster. She was an *inkommer/* new comer; something that she always reminded me of and that she was regularly reminded of by some of the community members. Living with them I could witness the gender dynamics within the household both when Hein was away at sea and especially when he returned home. These dynamics will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

I lived in Paternoster for four months on and off between August 2010 and December 2010. I decided to structure my time by staying with my host family for a month at a time and then returning to Stellenbosch for two weeks, followed by returning to Paternoster for another month. I alternated this routine for four months. This pattern enabled me to take a break from the field and in so doing, remove myself from my experiences there from time to time. This provided me with an opportunity to reflect on my findings, as mentioned earlier, and at the same time to search for literature and read further around my topic.

While in Paternoster, I interacted with the people living around me on a daily basis, engaging in informal conversations as well as more clearly defined but always open-ended interviews. This enabled me to get a sense of the community and to observe the ways in which women managed food security in their households. The informal conversations were usually not planned and happened casually whereas the interviews were planned and conducted at the individual's home. I would usually schedule an interview with someone if they mentioned something I thought would add value to my study. These information-gathering opportunities would very often lead to situations where I got to witness the very obvious gender divisions of labour. I was often invited to share meals with some people.

Gender divisions were particularly noticeable around the act of fishing. Standing on the beach and watching the fishermen go out to sea and then return later the afternoon, I became aware of the very obvious gendered spaces the beach and the sea are. The boats that returned were manned by men and so would be the offloading of the catch. Women were rarely, if ever, involved. During my stay in Paternoster I did not see any women involved in the catching of the fish or the offloading of the catch. Women would generally be part of the pre and post-harvest activities. The beach and sea becomes a common space where fishermen from all the residential areas in Paternoster meet. This is significant because despite the residential segregation between fishermen, when they get to the beach they cease to be men from Kliprug and Hopland and become Paternoster fishermen and share this common identity. This common identity is based on various reasons of which dependence on fishing for either livelihood or as a means of generating income is foremost. This common identity was expressed through their

interaction with one another after coming in from the sea with their catch for the day. I noticed how fishermen would enquire about the catch, offer advice and assist with hauling the boats onto the beach.

Data collection

The study is thus primarily qualitative in nature and anchored in an ethnographic approach. According to Delamont (2007: 206) ethnography, fieldwork and participant observation are three closely related terms which are all part of a wider term, qualitative research. She states that "qualitative research can include many different methods, such as many varieties of interview, documentary work, and the collection of personal constructs and mental maps, as well as observation" (2007: 206).

Participant observation was a very important part of my data collection. This research strategy enabled me, through an active engagement with the community and its members, to observe people's daily interactions and particularly the food choices that were made by the members in the various households I observed. Participant observation as a research strategy afforded me the chance to be integrated into the community on a very basic level which contributed greatly to the information that I was able to gather. Hammersley and Atkinson state that ethnography and particularly participant observation is "a significant development of the ordinary modes of making sense of the social world that we all use in our mundane lives, in a manner that is attuned to the specific purpose of producing research knowledge" (2007: 4). This form of research, being less formal and structured, contributed greatly to the level of ease with which I engaged with community members. I felt comfortable in my engagement with them as it felt natural and I believe that they felt a lot less intimidated during the data gathering process than when I conducted more structured interviews.

As part of the data collection process, I also conducted a number of more formal in-depth interviews with a total of 24 respondents. Because I was more interested in the experiences of the women of Paternoster, most of these interviews, 20 in all, were with women. However I took care not to focus solely on the women, and spent time interacting with men, including conducting four in-depth interviews. Conducting interviews with mostly women was a calculated decision as this study is concerned with the experiences of women in Paternoster and the ways in which they manage food security. Of the 20 women respondents, 13 lived in Kliprug and seven in Hopland. In the case of the four respondents who were men, one was from Hopland and three from Kliprug. The majority of the interviews were therefore conducted with people who stayed in Kliprug.

As a way of gathering data on actual food consumption, I distributed food diary books to individual women in 15 households in which to record daily and weekly food patterns. I had hoped this would

allow me to establish what food was eaten and how regularly in those households. The type of food that is consumed and how often, is indicative of socio-economic status as well as the level of food (in)security in the household. This attempt, however, proved to be one of the major disappointments that I had with regard to my fieldwork and data collection. Many of the respondents failed to complete the food diaries that I had asked them to complete. The reason given by some of the older people who did not complete the food diaries was that they struggled to see well. Furthermore, three of the women could not read and write, although they had assured me that they would ask another household member to complete the diary for them.

The information that I gathered for my study was not acquired solely through fieldwork. Consulting previous research done on Paternoster and the larger West Coast area (Van Sittert, 2003; Koenana, 1993; Roussow, 1996) was useful in contextualizing the information that I gathered during my physical stay there. I also spoke to community leaders in Paternoster who were instrumental in providing valuable background information on the workings of the community and in particular the current challenges that they faced.

In general my reception in Paternoster was warm and welcoming. The people living in Paternoster were for the most part friendly and obtaining information from respondents was relatively easy. Because I was new in the area many people wanted me to come to their homes to interview them. This interest in a newcomer could be ascribed to the novelty of a researcher specifically there for the purpose of studying the community of which they formed a part. Having someone interview them became an affirmation of the importance of their own story. It also became important to ensure that people did not feel insulted if I did not approach them for a conversation or an interview and in order to avoid that I made a point of greeting everyone with a smile or a wave or some form of acknowledgement.

The problems that I encountered in the field were mostly concerned with issues of personal safety. Being a female researcher influenced where I could walk and with whom I could speak. For instance, while walking on the beach alone one day, I was approached by a group of young men who were selling crayfish on the beach. There was a distinct moment when I was not sure what to do or how to respond to the very crude jokes that they were making. This made me aware of the vulnerability of being a female researcher in an unfamiliar place and also alerted me to what women members of the community may be exposed to. This served to confirm the significance of gendered power relations and the challenges which arise being a female researcher in unfamiliar places. "Place provides cues for how men and women behave, and thereby shapes how gender roles are staged. The street, for example, can profoundly amplify gender differences" (Herbert 2000: 554). Concern for my safety led me to conduct my interviews primarily during the day and to refrain from doing any formal interviews or house visits during the night. There are not many street lights in Paternoster and nights could be really dark. There

are also many stray dogs that walk around freely; on more than one occasion I had to fend off a dog that was charging at me. As mentioned earlier, another problem that I encountered in the field was the difficulty of penetrating more deeply some areas of knowledge like the daily diets of households.

Analysis and reporting

The analysis and reporting of the results of my study has been a continuous process of reflection and interrogation of the collected material and my experiences in the field. The breaks that I took from my fieldwork afforded me the opportunity for much needed reflection and writing up of field notes. A major part of the analysis of the fieldwork data was drawing up a spreadsheet capturing both the demographic and thematic information I obtained through my interviews with women, which material forms the core of my analysis for this study and will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. The spreadsheet captured information on household size and composition, employment, foodways between households, coping strategies and gender relations. This aided in compressing information into a format that made the data manageable and which facilitated ease of interpretation.

3. Ethical considerations

In this study an important ethical consideration was around ensuring confidentiality and not infringing on the basic human rights of the participants in this study. Confidentiality is essential to ensure both the safety of those involved in the study, as well as the reliability and quality of the data obtained (American Sociology Association 1999). In undertaking this study, I adhered to professional standards of research ethics for scientific integrity. These include principles of integrity, respect, beneficence and non-maleficence, responsibility, justice and informed consent (American Sociology Association 1999). In order to ensure confidentiality, in-depth interviews conducted with individuals were done in private and informed consent obtained. As a means of ensuring the confidentiality of the respondents' identity, I have also changed all the names of the respondents.

I introduced myself as a researcher before an interview or conversation and I asked the respondents for permission to use what information they had provided me with as data in my research. This ensured that the participants were always aware of the fact that I would be using the information they provided in my study. The participants were informed of what the study was about in a style and language that they could understand. In this study I obtained the informed consent of respondents for formal interviews which placed the respondents in a position where they knew what the risks and benefits of the study

were and could decide whether they wanted to participate or not. I also ensured that all the participants were aware of the fact that I was a researcher and that my study might not improve their living conditions in any way. Throughout I endeavoured to conduct the study in a way that was respectful, objective, and honest.

One ethical challenge that emerged many times during my research concerned my knowledge of illegal fishing activities. In the course of my fieldwork I became aware of various illegal activities that some of the fishermen were engaging in. I was approached countless times by young men selling crayfish and crayfish tails illegally. I also witnessed how the majority of the fishermen fished without permits and how they hid away their illegal catch from the authorities. Speaking out against, or questioning the fishermen about these illegal activities could have run the risk of potentially alienating them and jeopardising my study, but not saying anything could be seen as a form of condoning these illegalities. At the same time, I was only being exposed to these issues because of the trust that members of the community had come to place in me as a result of the relationships of acceptance I had developed. For the purpose of this study I chose not to say anything, out of a sense of concern about people's poverty and a recognition of the difficulty people faced in securing permits. The fact that many of the fishermen were not concerned that I would find out about their illegal activities was interesting and will be discussed in greater length in the chapters to follow.

4. Chapter outline

In this thesis I argue that a gendered approach needs to be adopted in order to understand the social dynamics around food security and how to promote it effectively. In Paternoster it is clear that women play an important part in the management of food and hence food security within households. A consideration of the ways in which gender intersects with food and the gender relations that influence the production, distribution and consumption of food in Paternoster allows for a fuller understanding of the practical ways in which food (in)security is managed in the household in Paternoster. These issues are addressed in the following chapters as set out below.

In Chapter Two I set out my conceptual framework. The key issues that I discuss in this chapter are the concepts 'sex', 'gender' and 'women' in an attempt to determine in which ways the understanding of these notions assist in understanding the gendered division of labour with regard to food security. It locates women in Paternoster within the power relations that exist in fishing communities and determines to what extent a discussion of intersectionality is important in understanding how women in Paternoster manage household food security. I argue further that a consideration of the symbolic

relationships between raw food, prepared food and women as managers of food in the households are important in understanding what the roles of women are in ensuring the food security of households.

Chapter Three contextualizes Paternoster historically and positions the town and the challenges its residents face in securing food within the broader global context. This chapter also speaks to the ways in which larger changes in the fishing industry affect the socio-economic conditions of the households in Paternoster. In Chapter Three I discuss the current socio-economic conditions of the households in Paternoster and explore women's changing economic role in terms of employment opportunities and the ways in which these employment opportunities offer relief from the risk of food insecurity within households.

In Chapter Four I explore the foodways and food maps that women use in Paternoster as one of the strategies employed when managing food security in the household. This reveals the ways in which food moves in and between households. An exploration of the foodways that exist in and between households sheds light on the diversified ways in which women within households ensure that there is food on the table, whether it be through collection, buying or borrowing food. Foodways illuminates the social relations that are established and maintained through food and the various routes that food travels, and draws attention to the gendered division of labour and to gender dynamics at play within households and within the larger community of Paternoster.

Chapter Five forms the conclusion of this thesis in which I draw together the findings of my study and emphasise the need for a gendered consideration of foodways and practices in order to fully understand food security and its management in communities. Since social relations of food have generally been organized along the lines of gender, and women continue to carry the responsibility for managing foodways within the household, any study of food security must explore the experiences of women in order to fully understand the several dimensions of food security. An exploration of how women are engaged materially and symbolically in food production and consumption in ways that reflect the social and cultural performance of gender roles in Paternoster highlights the centrality of women's role in managing food security within households. In conclusion, I also suggest that in order to understand food security at the household level, it is important to take into account the symbolism of food and how this symbolism influences the ways in which we engage with food.

Image 1: Fishermen '*bakkies*' on the beach at Paternoster, with a view of Kliprug behind (author's photograph).

Chapter Two: Conceptual framework and literature review

In this thesis I argue that in order to understand the ways in which everyday household food security is managed in Paternoster it is important to consider the role of women as key players in the management of food security, in conjunction with an anthropological approach to food which considers the symbolic value of food and the social and cultural issues pertaining to food and food security within Paternoster. This chapter explores the key concepts drawn upon in this study of how women in Paternoster manage household food security in the context of limited resources: those of food security, gender, the symbolic value of food and 'foodways' viewed through an anthropology of food lens, and the concept of *ordentlikheid*/ respectability. I also look at the concept of intersectionality to explore the interaction between gender and various other categories of difference and the ways in which women's engagement with food and food security function within these categories.

My discussion is framed within an overarching feminist theoretical approach. This underscores the limitations of food security studies which do not have a gendered focus and which consequently fail to acknowledge the important role played by women in the management of food security within the household, particularly within fishing communities in South Africa. The often singular focus of food security studies on nutrition and the material issues pertaining to food security and its management is a limitation that is explored in this chapter and throughout the thesis. Consideration needs to be given to the ways in which gender intersects with food security and the gender relations involved within the processes of food acquisition, production, distribution and discard. A further limitation of many studies of food security is the insufficient focus on the symbolic value of food and the social and cultural issues around food which impact on household food security and the management thereof.

1. Food Security

There are many debates on the best definitions of food security as it is a worldwide concern. In his book, *Anthropology of Food*, Johan Pottier (1999) explains that since the concept of food security was introduced at the first World Food Conference convened by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1974, it has undergone many changes and the definition has become more differentiated. The United Nations World Food Conference was held in Rome, Italy, from 5 to 16 November 1974. There were 135 representatives of states who participated, having been invited in accordance with a resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The primary concern at this conference was

with the global supply of food, and the way in which food security was defined at the time reflected this. The term initially referred to the "availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs … to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption … and to offset fluctuations in production and prices" (Pottier 1999: 11). This initial formulation has changed over time and current definitions of food security attempt to capture a more multi-faceted approach to this issue. Maxwell and Frankenberger acknowledge the complexity of the concept of food security in their account of changes in the definition since the mid-1970s:

> the main cause of increasing complexity is a shift in the level of analysis: from a primary concern in the 1970s with national and international food security, defined in terms of the level and reliability of aggregate food supplies; to a focus in the 1980s on individual and household food security, with the emphasis on access, vulnerability and entitlement (1992).

Van Zyl and Kirsten in their 1992 article on *Food Security in South Africa* note that "the emphasis on the links between hunger and poverty is the most important change in thinking about world food policy since the World Food Conference" (1992: 171).

Currently the most widely accepted definition comes from the 1996 Rome Declaration on World Food Security and Action which emerged from an international summit that took place in Rome, Italy between 13 and 17 November 1996. The summit was organised by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). This Declaration states that,

> food security, at the individual, household, national, regional, and global levels … exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO 1998).

This Declaration differs from the earlier definition in that it places greater emphasis on the need for both physical and economic access to food in order to ensure food security. Unlike the first definition of food security, the Declaration includes not only the issue of dietary needs but also that of food preference. In defining what food security entails, the Rome Declaration of 1996 takes a somewhat postmodernist perspective on issues around food. The definition itself acknowledges the various complexities of food and nutrition, and the need to view the issue of food security on the individual, household, national, regional, and global levels. In addition to acknowledging the contextually complex nature of food security, Pottier states that this definition "recognises that poverty is a major cause of food insecurity and that poverty eradication is essential to improve access to food" (1999: 13).

Food security and the issues pertaining to food security are considered differently depending on whether the focus is on the micro or on the macro level. Each of these levels has its own set of issues and concerns and a focus on one or the other will present different challenges and concerns. Food security on the macro level means that through imports or agricultural and marine outputs, there is enough food available to meet the entire country's nutritional needs, but this does not guarantee that everyone within the country is able to access it or access equal amounts of it. Food security at the micro level, within towns, communities and households, means that all members have sufficient access to the food that meets their dietary requirements and food preferences. To ensure food security on the micro level, three conditions need to be complied with. These are that there should be food security on the macro level, stability in the supply of food locally, and that all members of the household are guaranteed regular access to sufficient and nutritious food (Drimie and Lafon 2003).

"The lack of food is one of the most acute forms of poverty, when poverty is defined in terms of lack and non-accessibility to basic goods" (Drimie and Lafon 2003:16). Low income, the absence of income and lack of access to land and other natural resources is nearly always a major contributing factor of food insecurity. This can be ascribed to the fact that food that is bought is generally available at a certain price and the lack of income leads directly to an inability to purchase and thus secure food. People who do not have cash income feel they are being denied non-cash ways of securing food, through fishing and harvesting as a result of the implementation of fishing regulations around fishing permits. Efforts to increase food production and a general reduction in food prices are not enough on their own to bring an end to food insecurity. What is essential to ending food insecurity is the increase in the average individual's and household's ability to access food. "People lack access to food because of inadequate income, political disadvantage, or war. The denial of access hits home in the household, which is the basic unit for acquiring and sharing food the world over" (Runge, et al. 2003: 79).

There is also a need to investigate what household means in poor contexts. In Paternoster households are not necessarily confined to a single physical structure or even a yard. In some cases the boundaries of households are less rigid and more porous than that. This allows for the flow of food across physical boundaries. These permeable household boundaries become important strategies enabling households to manage household food security more effectively, as is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

When dealing with food security and policy, policy makers and academics alike have to acknowledge the interconnectedness of the various food domains. These domains include the collection, production, marketing, distribution, and consumption of the food. Whatever happens in one of these domains indirectly, and sometimes even directly, affects another food domain. Thus it makes no sense focusing

on only one of the food domains, for instance consumption, and neglecting the domains of collection and distribution. An example of how one food domain directly influences another is the effect of technological change on employment and income generation and consequently consumption. This is evident in the case of the fishing industry in Paternoster, when downscaling in the workforce occurred. Once the major fishing company in the town, Paternoster Fisheries, had changed their method of fishing from being labour intensive to less labour intensive by using bigger boats, they had to downscale because they needed fewer fishermen and consequently many fishermen were left unemployed. This placed tremendous strain on fisher households which were then without a source of income. This type of change in turn directly influences and changes what is consumed in the household.

One can trace the ripple effect that one change in a food domain has on the other domains. According to Snowman,

> food (in)security is affected by time, space, political and socio-economic factors, so that hunger co-exists with surplus food supplies at international, national, local and household levels. The conceptualisation of food (in)security has shifted to include global, national, household and individual dimension, also taking account of subjective (self-reported) perceptions rather than only objective (measured) indicators (2010: 1163).

The growing interest and research of social sciences in fisheries management and food security highlights the importance of understanding the broader social issues and linking disciplines to secure resources and address food insecurity. This is highlighted by Chuenpagdee, Degnbol, Bavinck, Jentoft, Johnson, and Pullin (2005: 25) who state that "fisheries challenges need to be tackled by acknowledging the interconnectivity of concerns for ecosystem health, social justice, livelihoods, and food security and food safety". This link between social and ecological systems is crucial to understanding and achieving the sustainability of resources and will go a long way in ensuring the accessibility of these resources. As mentioned earlier, the Food Security Initiative at the University of Stellenbosch is an example of the way in which linkages between disciplines can address the study of food security.

Given that my study aims to understand the impact of food security on households in Paternoster and the ways in which this is managed by women, its primary focus is on the micro-level. It also requires a disaggregation of data in terms of gender in order to understand the complexities involved in the availability, access and utilization of food within households in Paternoster. It is important to note that the issue of power relations within the household contributes greatly to the level and ways in which food security is managed within the household.

Food security is closely linked to the ability of people to acquire material or economic resources that are needed in order to secure food in the household. Patterns of inequality in power and access to human and material resources perpetuate the conditions that lead to food insecurity. As discussed further in Chapter Three, in South Africa small-scale commercial fishers cannot fish legally without a valid fishing permit. Obtaining such a permit often takes a while and many are not guaranteed upon application. Even when fishers are fortunate enough to secure such a fishing permit, many do not have the necessary resources to fish on the scale of fisheries or other fishing companies.

Women and food security

Because the focus of my study is on women, an important issue that I need to address is the extent to which various gender and intra-household relationships impact on household food security. The distribution of food within the household is not necessarily equal. In most societies, certain members of the household have more access to food than others.

In his discussion of issues surrounding food security, Scanlan states that "food poverty is not just the economic ability to acquire food, for there are other forms of 'poverty' created in the systematic denial of access to food security, be it ethnicity, gender, rural-urban differences, or other inequalities" (2003: 89). According to Weismantel, "family relationships are not built upon identical rights and duties, but upon reciprocal rights and duties; these roles often involve relations of marked dominance and subordination which allow some individuals to benefit from the labour of others" (1998: 26). Here gendered cultural determinants around the distribution of food within households are important to take note of. Norms regarding who gets served first, who gets the best portions of the meal and who gets what is left of the meal impact on food security within the household. In most cases men are the ones who provide and secure the food on the table and thus they are more likely to be the ones who benefit from these norms.

Even where women provide the main body of food, men tend to dominate food access within households. This could in turn potentially place women and children in a position of greater food insecurity. According to Rasmussen (in Cairns *et al* 2010)

> part of the food access problem lies in cultural patterns that perpetuate inequality between men and women. Women play a fundamental role in the provision of food security in the family and the community. At the same time, a disproportionate share of the food-insecure is female due to poverty, discrimination, divorce, and longer life expectancy. The status of women and

children within households reflects the values and attitudes of a culture and their subsequent effect on the distribution of wealth and food in a household.

"While responsibility for food provisioning is a matter of ongoing discussion within households, there are clear signs that women are taking on more and greater responsibilities" (Pottier 1999: 33). Not only do women have a particularly intimate relationship to food, but they play a fundamental role in ensuring that the household is food secure. This is why women and their experiences should be included in discussions around food security and policy planning. I am by no means suggesting that women are a closed category and that all women have an intimate relationship to food. The category 'women' needs to be broken down. "Regarding food provisioning, responsibilities are not fixed and are instead negotiated and renegotiated as political and economic circumstances change" (Pottier 1999: 38). This negotiation and renegotiation of food provision and responsibility within households are evident in households in Paternoster where women have become additional, and in some cases, sole providers of income.

Food security should not be reduced to merely food on a plate but instead should be seen as a process that emphasises the ongoing reality of those living in these conditions. The state of food insecurity that many households in Paternoster find themselves in is a result of the culmination of many factors. In order to understand food security in the context of Paternoster and try and eliminate it, these factors need to be taken into account. When dealing with issues on women, it is important to take into account the various gender dynamics which exist. Gender dynamics are very complex and so is the issue of food security.

Another reason why changing gender relations is an issue to address relates to changes in the regulation of the fishing industry and its impact on household food security because, with the implementation of fishing permits and government regulations concerning fishing, many male fishermen have been retrenched, or are not in possession of permits. These are permits that are applied for by both subsistence and commercial fishermen. Once a permit is awarded, fishermen can fish legally but because of the slow process of permit allocation many men who have relied on fishing to secure food for their households are no longer in a position to do so and women have had to start generating additional income. This is not the sole reason for the possible changing gender relations but is an important contributing factor. At the same time, some women have been awarded permits to fish, in keeping with gender equity regulations. This is a new phenomenon as traditionally fishing had been the domain of the men. In my first encounter with community members, in February 2010, I found that many of the men and women seemed to resent this. According to one gentleman I spoke to, women were not meant to be fishers.

This widespread gendered distinction between men and women in the division of labour, particularly within the fishing industry, is recognized by Yodanis who states that, "gender in fishing villages is defined in relation to fishing. 'Man' is defined as one who fishes and 'woman' is defined in opposition to that which is fisherman. To be a woman is to not be a fisher(man). Fishing serves as the basis for gender boundaries" (2000: 268). I was quite taken aback by the fact that it was not just the men who resented the fact that women go out to sea, but many women were not happy with the idea either. They too thought that the sea was no place for a woman. One of the reasons for this was the fact that when out at sea, one easily spends up to 10 hours without any toilet facilities. In some cases the women were on a boat with non-family members and having to urinate in public view was considered problematic. This can be ascribed to the societal norms that existed prohibiting such behaviour from women, but naturalised it in men.

One of the aims of this study is to explore how women negotiate and strategize to ensure the food security of their households. There are many factors that women have to deal with when negotiating and strategizing to keep food on the table. On a daily basis women have to negotiate transitory and ever-changing gender relations. One factor that is particularly important in poorer households in managing food security is the effectiveness of social networks and established foodways within the community. Molner (1999) quite accurately posits that there exists a reciprocal relationship between the strength of social organization and food security. Molner (1999: 32) states that

> food security has a component of local organization or community support. The ability and willingness of neighbours to help each other, solve communal problems, and maintain communal structures is an important aspect of food security. Such micro-level processes are fundamental mechanisms for transforming individual initiative and resources into food security.

In addition to this, women have to invest in sustaining already existing food networks and managing the income in such a way that it ensures that everyone in the household is fed. The food networks that I refer to here involve friends or neighbours who share food regularly among themselves and their families. In Paternoster I noticed that many of the households made use of established food networks. Two households I intimately knew regularly shared food and when the one household didn't have food, the other would send over a plate of food, or some fish that they had caught. The food networks also involved people going out and collecting food together.

2. Gender

In my study I attempt to explore the interconnectedness between gender, food and food security and in so doing emphasize the importance of a gendered consideration of food and food security. The approach to gender employed in this thesis is informed by the work of academics who theorize gender as a practice that is continually ratified in social relations, rather than an unchanging ontological property which resides in individuals. Central to the discussion to follow is an exploration of the terms 'woman', 'sex', and 'gender'. I also attempt to situate the dynamism of gender relations within a larger understanding of social identities in the community and for this reason I have found the concept of intersectionality particularly valuable.

Ever since the feminist movement has begun, there have been attempts to free women from the physical and social suppression that they have been forced to face. In order to do so, there was a need to define exactly what it means to be a 'woman'. Conventionally in society this term is defined in terms of the biological and anatomical features that distinguish women from men. Traditionally in society's understanding the distinction between male and female has always been on the grounds of biological determinism. This is the view that biology is destiny. The biological make-up of women thus became the ground for accounting for the differences that exist between men and women and for justifying the division of labour between them. It is from these biological arguments that essentialised stereotypes of both men and women arose. These were said to be biological facts and were consequently used to justify the prescribed social and political roles of both men and women. The traits that were ascribed to women were generally seen as inferior to that of men and consequently women continued to be marginalised.

Understanding the differences between men and women have thus conventionally been tied to the human body – yet, as a growing body of research attests, human bodies do not fall neatly into these categories of male and female, man and woman. Gender is a complex process involving the social construction of men's and women's identities in relation to one another. According to Mikkola (2009), feminists have come to understand the term 'woman' in terms of various social and cultural aspects. By viewing the notion of woman in terms of cultural and social aspects, they have thus distinguished 'gender' from 'sex', which relates to biological differences.

Because of the argument of biological determinism, feminists have used the sex/gender distinction as a counter argument. "Sex denotes human females and males depending on biological features; gender denotes women and men depending on social factors" (Mikkola, 2009: 2). Judith Butler, however, has questioned the utility of gender as a concept in the way in which most feminists have come to use it as distinct from biological sex and argues that gender should not merely be seen as the cultural

inscription of meaning on a pregiven sex, but must also be seen as the very tool through which sexes are themselves constructed. Sex should thus be seen as that which is culturally informed through gender. In terms of this account, sex is itself socially constructed because of what is attributed to sexed bodies and how they have come to be classified. Butler suggests that bodies are the material foundations on which gender is constructed, and are in themselves constructed because they provide the very grounds on which the concept of gender is constructed. "Claims about sex are not identical to claims about gender; rather, they imply claims about gender norms" (Mikkola, 2009: 15). Butler thus posits that it is not gender alone that is a social construct, but in effect sex too.

According to Mikkola, feminists have long argued that behavioural and psychological differences have social, rather than biological, causes. Simone de Beauvoir (1961) argued that observed behavioural traits are culturally learnt and acquired. An example of this is the idea of masculinity and femininity. Both of these concepts are loaded with assumptions and are socially constructed and culturally specific. Each of these is ascribed either to men or women and regarded as properties that are innate and unchangeable. Mikkola refers to Gayle Rubin who says that "although biological differences are fixed, gender differences are the oppressive results of social interventions that dictate how women and men should behave" (quoted in Mikkola 2009: 3). There are various gender norms that appropriate ways of behaviour to each gender. These gender norms are socially constructed and culturally dependent. A range of different influences socialises men and women and is context specific. Most of the time these influences are covert, like the way in which mothers refer to their sons in very 'masculine' ways and when describing their daughters, they make use of very 'feminine' descriptions. This serves to reinforce behaviours that are deemed as 'appropriate' and in this way the various gender specific stereotypes are perpetuated.

I agree with Judith Butler (1990) that gender is both normative as well as performative. Gender is normative in that it creates or prescribes certain standards of behaviour. For instance, in Paternoster the act of fishing has long been associated with men and this gendering of the fisherman role has become perpetuated and consequently engrained as the norm in the culture of fishing in the community. The concepts of 'woman' and 'gender' are both socially constructed and culturally dependent. Butler argues that these concepts can never be used in a non-ideological way. There will always be ideological connotations connected to these concepts, be it knowingly or unknowingly. At the same time gender is performative in that it becomes instituted through repetitions of various habitual acts as well as modelling and imitation. Girls act in ways they are taught by their family and friends and through the repetition of these acts it becomes instituted in their overall behaviour. "People think that there are true and real genders, and those deemed to be doing their gender 'wrong' are not socially sanctioned. But, genders are true and real only to the extent that they are performed" (Mikkola 2009: 11).

Drawing on Duerst-Lahti's chapter in Goertz *et al Politics, Gender, and Concepts* (2008), I agree that, "gender has been constructed through social and political processes that play out as innumerable performances and practices of masculinity and femininity, which in turn are embedded in and enforced by social and political structures and institutions". These manly and womanly practices are not necessarily bound to human bodies. Duerst-Lahti argues that occupations like the military and nursing are imbued with ideas of masculinity and femininity respectively; neither of these occupations are a human body, yet each is associated with them, notwithstanding the fact that neither employ only men or only women (2008).

This is true of the fishing industry as well, where the activity of fishing is commonly associated with masculinity and is disproportionally performed by men. Thus in the case of Paternoster, even though there are no explicit rules stating that fishing as an act and occupation is reserved for men, very few women fish and in some cases both men and women are strongly opposed to fishing by women. Such gendering comes from beliefs about masculinity and femininity, and these beliefs rest on performance ideologies that we are often not aware are operating. Gender does not merely serve as a means of categorizing bodies and differentiating between the social construction of masculinity and femininity, but it becomes an act, something that we perform daily. Through performing gender, these ideologically constructed concepts are reaffirmed and normalised.

Intersectionality

Like other contemporary feminist theorists, Butler is also of the opinion that there cannot be some pre-existing identity that encompasses all that is woman. There is not some universal definition of what it means to be woman because of all the differences that exist not only among the imagined unitary category of 'women', but among individuals in general. Butler is also heavily concerned with the way in which 'women' are represented. An important aim of the feminist movement was to ensure that women would be seen as independent, autonomous subjects but according to Butler, the qualifications for being a subject must first be met before representation can be extended. Butler states that "juridical systems of power inevitably produce the subjects that they subsequently come to represent" (Butler 1990: 2). The category of women becomes produced and restrained by the very structures of power through which emancipation is sought (Butler 1990: 8). The misrepresentation of the category 'women' can be seen in the assumption that the term 'women' refers to a common identity. Women are not a united group since there are too many differences between them.

According to Butler it has become impossible to separate gender from political and cultural intersections because gender is not always constituted consistently in the racial, class and ethnic

contexts in which different identities are formed. She criticizes the fact that women and even feminism are represented as if there is a presumed universal unity. This might be effective at times if deployed for the purpose of social movements. This essentialised image of women is portrayed as means of political mobilization and the construction of a collective front. However, it is problematic given the great fragmentation within this category. It is necessary that one has to take into account the racial, class and cultural differences between women.

> Although gender as binary or dualism is consistent throughout world cultures, the exact makeup of the two genders varies greatly, and some cultures have recognised three and even four genders. Sophisticated gender analysis therefore constantly struggles against the 'natural attitude', in which gender is assumed to be ordinary, dichotomous, and rooted in knowable dichotomous sexed bodies (Goertz, *et al*: 2008).

It is here that the notion of intersectionality, a feminist concept first highlighted by Kimberlé Crenshaw, becomes very useful, because in the construction of gender, all aspects of the social context need to be taken into consideration. Crenshaw uses the idea of intersectionality to mark the ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping the experiences of women, along with factors such as class and sexuality. Crenshaw states that her "focus on the intersections of race and gender only highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (1991: 1245). Other feminist theorists have taken up the idea of intersectionality in examining the enormous differences cross-culturally with regards to belief systems, traditions, and other socialization and social control mechanisms associated with the two 'opposite sexes'. According to Davies:

> Intersectionality refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in the individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power … [I]ntersectionality was intended to address the fact that the experiences and struggles of women of colour fell between the cracks of both feminist and anti-feminist discourse (2008: 68).

When addressing issues surrounding gender, it is important to explore how gender intersects with other social identities such as race, class as well as heteronormativity. The concept of intersectionality attempts to acknowledge the differences among women and through this to understand the effects of race and class on the identities, experiences, and struggles for empowerment and inclusion by women. "Intersectionality addresses the most central theoretical and normative concern within feminist scholarship: namely, the acknowledgement of differences among women" (Davies 2008: 70).

This acknowledgement of differences among women has been particularly concerned with the marginalization of women who are poor and women of colour within white, Western feminist theory. For a long time there was a distinct gap in western feminist theory as the voices of black women were not recognized. According to Goertz and Mazur,

> ignoring the intersectional nature of these systems means we systematically overlook the experiences of many different groups of marginalized women, and by default focus only on the most privileged women (white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual), on whom most of our theorizing and research is based (2008:195).

For this reason, intersectionality is "ideally suited to the task of exploring how categories of race, class and gender are intertwined and mutually constitutive, giving centrality to questions like how race is 'gendered' and how gender is 'racialized', and how both are linked to the continuities and transformation of social class" (Davies 2008: 71).

In its pursuit for equality, feminist theory has often put aside all differences in class, gender, ethnicity, religion and race, and in so doing tended to equate equality with sameness, and thereby left untouched systematic differences and inequalities that exist among women. Intersectionality emphasises the need to consider all the factors at play in identity formation. But if old notions of feminism are to be considered politically ethnocentric and imperialistic, this raises the concern that intersectionality will in effect cause the collapse of the universal platform that feminist theorists have used to voice the concerns of all women globally (Davies 2008). Davies argues that this is exactly the opposite effect that intersectionality will have. According to her, intersectionality "promises an almost universal applicability, useful for understanding and analysing any social practice, any individual or group experience, any structural arrangement, and any cultural configuration" (Davies 2008:72). Intersectionality seeks to understand how social structures such as gender, race and class work. In its attempt to understand how these structures work, it captures the complexity of the interaction of these social structures.

Intersectionality is a useful tool to explore the different structural barriers that women of marginalized communities face in trying to address their various challenges. In Paternoster, the majority of the women are Coloured and a large section of the population is poor. Each of these categories have their own challenges and for understanding the gender relations in Paternoster it is essential to take into account the effect that these categories have on their identifications as well as their interactions with others. Even within categories of 'race' and socio-economic status there are differences in age, income level, marital status and more.

We cannot understand the ways in which women are disadvantaged unless we examine and understand the ways in which various structures interact. "We cannot conceptualize 'interstices' unless we have a concept of the structures that intersect to create these points of interaction" (Goertz, et al: 2008). Once we have an understanding of what these structures are and the ways in which they intersect, we can begin to conceptualize the multiple and shifting identities which consequently emerge.

3. The Anthropology of food and the symbolic value of food

The anthropology of food makes an important contribution to interrogating many of the social and cultural issues around food. "Seven subsections examine classic food ethnographies: single commodities and substances; food and social change; food insecurity; eating and ritual; eating and identities; and instructional materials" (Mintz and Du Bois 2002:99). The study of food and eating is important, as eating is fundamental to human existence. Not only is it essential for the sustenance of life, but it plays an important symbolic role in social interaction. The anthropology of food and food studies are important because they "illuminate broad societal processes such as political-economic value-creation, symbolic value creation, and the societal construction of memory" (Mintz and Du Bois 2002:99).

"Nourishment, a basic biological need, becomes something else because we humans transform it symbolically into a system of meaning for much more than itself" (Mintz 1996: 6). Mintz argues that food is never simply eaten and that its consumption is always conditioned by meaning and these meanings are symbolic and communicated symbolically. In Paternoster, being a fishing village, fish has come to represent something very specific. It transcends its material quality of being a valuable source of food and becomes a symbol of a shared community identity. This is due to the history of the village. Paternoster came about as a result of the opening of Paternoster Fisheries and many of the earlier population were fishermen who worked for the factory and had moved to Paternoster and stayed there.

In Paternoster, fish and fishing have for a long time been seen as sitting at the core of the identity of the village, and for many residents fish and food are synonymous. Paternoster was formed around the act of fishing and for many residents fish and fishing continues to be regarded as integral to everyday life. Food intersects with ethnic identity in Paternoster where historically fishermen were primarily Coloured. The implication of this is that those who are not considered to be Coloured or who do not self-identify as such are regarded as not being 'real' fishermen by some of the Coloured community. "Like all culturally defined material substances used in the creation and maintenance of social relationships, food serves both to solidify group membership and set groups apart" (Mintz and Du Bois

2002: 109). It could be argued that because of the history of Paternoster as a fishing town, the group identity as a fishing community is based on the fact that many living there are fishermen or are in some way linked to fishing and the fishing industry. Many of the fishermen that I spoke to during my field work all said the same thing. "*Ons is vissermanne. Dis al wat ons ken* / We are fishermen. This is all we know."

The ways in which fish has come to represent not only the livelihood of those living in Paternoster but a key component in the identity formation of Paternoster as a fishing community can be seen in the way in which men who are fishermen and who come from a line of fishermen unashamedly claim ownership of this title. Children in Paternoster engage with fishermen and the concept of fishing on a regular basis. This engagement with fishermen and the concept of fishing by children reflects this social reproduction of the extended forms of family throughout the community. The relative ease with which children from Paternoster engaged with basic fishing terminology in conversation with me was indicative of the way in which the activity of fishing had become a practice central to their conceptual framework.

Fish and other marine resources in Paternoster are at once mundane, as staple foods, and a highly charged community symbol as well. The importance of marine resources as food in Paternoster, and specifically fish, can be seen in the way in which Paternoster is constructed as a fishing village. This is in both the literal and the figurative sense. The older residential area, Kliprug, was built originally to serve as housing for the fishermen who worked for Paternoster Fisheries. The physical structure of the town and the houses that were built there serve as a representation of the construction of a fishing town. Similarly, the tourist industry in Paternoster, which is important for the economy of the town, is fuelled by the romantic and often idealised image of Paternoster being a rustic little fishing village. Those who go to Paternoster for holidays go there specifically for this reason. Seeing the colourful fishermen's boats scattered on the shore and watching these fishermen going out early in the morning and coming back in the late afternoon, all serve as attractions for tourists. The ways in which life in Paternoster is regulated by the flow of the tides and the seasonal nature of fishing is evident in the everyday activities of the people living there. The symbolic value creation of food, specifically in the form of marine resources, is seen in the ways in which activities around the harvesting, selling, consumption, sharing, and also memory of these resources shape the structure and lived experiences of the people in Paternoster.

The social and symbolic importance of fish to the community and how this has changed over time is an important theme I address in this thesis. I also address how the act of fishing is productive of gender relations and how this becomes a site around which gender is performed and reinforced. This becomes an important point to consider when exploring the ways in which women in Paternoster manage household food security. The varying associations that people from Paternoster have of fish as a marine

resource and food also offer insight into the status attached to various foods. Gumeman (1997: 110) sees these variations in association as significant tools to understanding the importance of food in social relations within communities and states that, "social variation is also important for understanding food symbolism because various groups - ethnic, status, or gender - may view foods in distinct ways. Contextual, structural and symbolic approaches offer important avenues for examining the active role of food". For those living in Paternoster, fish and other marine resources may have come to symbolise different things. To those who fish with the intent of selling, fish is seen as a commodity through which to ensure food security within the household. For those who are subsistence fishermen who fish to eat, fish is the direct source of a livelihood. Fish however is not the only subsistence need. There is a need for money to pay for basic necessities like electricity, clothes, school-fees and other food types which the selling of fish could facilitate.

Valentine states that, "food is important to the social reproduction of the family in both the nuclear and extended forms and food practices help to maintain and reinforce a coherent ideology of the family throughout the social structure" (1999: 492). An example of this is that in Paternoster, every Monday fish is prepared for lunch or supper. This is something that most of the households do. I spoke to some people and tried to determine whether anyone knew why Mondays are fish nights, but they just told me that that is how it has always been in Paternoster. Ever since they could remember it has been that way. What is eaten is equally important as how and when it is eaten. The fact that one day of the week is specifically dedicated to fish speaks to this.

In the household food represents many things. From a gender perspective on food, there is a dialectic between food and women. Not only is food important in the social reproduction of the family, but also of gender relations and women's role within the house. She becomes the one that is associated with food distribution and ensuring that everyone in the household and sometimes even the extended family is fed. Food is also part of a dialectical mode of gender definition and power relations within the household. On the one hand if the man in the household is the provider of food and income, the provision of food can be seen to represent and cement woman's subordination and dependency. On the other hand, often if women are the managers of food and income, the management and preparation of food then represents an important locus of feminine power (Counihan 1988).

> The mother determines when, what, and how much family members will eat. She controls the social mores of the table, which are a microcosm of behaviours and values deemed right and just by society-at-large. She controls the symbolic language of food, determining what her dishes and meals will say about herself, her family, and the world (Quaggiotto 1987: 54).

There have been considerable debates over the years over the different positions of power of men and women and how these positions and relationships are more often than not skewed in different societies. Counihan (1988) interrogates the position of women from the perspective of power and the relation between female identity, power and food. In all kinds of societies women have been primarily responsible for preparing food and distributing it to others. Counihan states that

> the predominant role of women in feeding is a cultural universal, a major component of female identity, and an important source of female connections to and influence over others. Hence, although there are other components of female identity and other sources of their authority, the power of women is to a great extent the power of food (1988: 52).

Women thus have some sort of power in the household because they have power over food, with regards to the preparation and distribution thereof. She further argues that this power takes two forms. The first is coercive. This is the power over, and control of resources that might be denied to others. Women in the household have the power to regulate who gets food and how much. The second form of power that women have, according to Counihan is influence. By using Marcel Mauss's anthropological theory on the act of gift giving Counihan explains that this form of power through food is gained not by force and the ability to deny food to members of the household, but through giving and the obligations that are created through giving. Members of the household recognise this gift of food and are to a certain extent indebted to the woman in the household. In this way she gains a very distinct form of power in the household (Counihan 1988).

This form of power closely relates to the power that Mauss (1967) described in his book *The Gift.*

> It is the power of the tribal big man who distributes enormous piles of yams at feasts and 'leads because the people wish to be led'; and it is the power of women who feed, who satisfy hunger, who are viscerally needed, and who influence others through manipulation of the symbolic language of food (Mauss in Counihan 1988: 53).

The power that the woman holds within the household is not solely gained through the act of giving food, but through the act of transforming that which is raw into something edible (Counihan 1988). The intersection of power, gender and food is important in understanding the ways in which women manage household food security. Food, food security and gender can thus be seen to be inseparable.

Two concepts that are closely associated with that of food are hospitality and sharing. In an article on sharing, Russel Belk (2010) interrogates the act of sharing and questions what the difference is between a gift and a commodity and when gift-giving becomes commodity exchange. According to Mauss there is no such thing as a pure gift. We give in order to get and we are caught in this system of mutual

obligation. This speaks to the power that a woman has in a household. She bestows the members of the household with this gift daily. Preparing food and feeding the household and ensuring that everyone has something to eat is the gift that she bestows on them. Russel-Belk goes further and explains that upon first glance, this might not seem like a gift because these acts of preparing food and cooking have become so normalized as being the duty of the women in the household, but the recipients of this gift are left with a sense of obligation. The recipients feel obliged to return this gift, but even though the counter gift might be vague, there remains some sense of obligation.

In this context I found the idea of foodmaps and 'foodways' useful. According to Marte (2007) foodmaps are perceptual models of how food moves in and between households. These foodways map social relations and trace how boundaries between households are experienced through the movement of food. Using foodmaps and foodways as a perceptual model was useful in understanding how food security was managed in the household. Whilst doing my field-work in Paternoster, I noticed a lot of sharing, initially particularly among the fishermen. This sharing among fishermen, albeit seasonal and sometimes haphazard, is often important for intermittent relief from the risk of food insecurity in some households. I also came to see the sharing of food between women as an important foodway between households. As is discussed more fully in Chapter Four, this sharing food is one of many foodways which exist in Paternoster. If one fisherman had a good catch he would share some of his catch with a friend or a fellow fisherman. That gift would be reciprocated on a later stage with some nets or paint for the boat. This is particularly evident with the sharing of crayfish, especially because it is such a luxury food. There seems to be a thin line between gift-giving and commodity exchange. Commodity exchange denotes giving something in return for something else, but even though the gift is given with no expectation of anything in return, it is never free. The recipient will feel a sense of obligation to return this gift. This commodity exchange was not limited to the social relations between men but I witnessed similar dynamics amongst women.

'*Ordentlikheid*' – respectability

It is here that a consideration of the importance of *ordentlikheid* (respectability) in relation to the symbolic importance of food and the management of food security becomes relevant.

In the same way that food that is shared is considered a gift, hospitality can also be seen as a gift. When acting in a hospitable manner when receiving guests, the act of hospitality could be seen as a gift bestowed by the host on the guests. Hospitality is also something that can be expected to be reciprocated. The anthropologist Elaine Salo uses the term *ordentlikheid* (respectability) in investigating approved forms of engaging socially in interactions with others. She notes that *ordentlikheid* is strongly

gendered and that "the ideology of Gendered Respectability is embodied in the performance and efflorescence of motherhood. Such Gendered Respectability also sets the boundaries of local communities and dictated gendered norms and behaviour" (2009: 14). Based on a reading of Fiona Ross's further engagement with the concept of *ordentlikheid* (respectability), it can be argued that there is a definite link between *ordentlikheid* and food. *Ordentlikheid*, according to Ross, is a relational concept that is in most cases deployed by women and descriptions of *ordentlikheid* relate to personal comportment and very specific gender roles (2005: 640).

> Residents described *ordentlikheid* as a disposition inculcated by environment: although considered an essential attribute of humanness, *ordentlikheid* is thought to be eroded by environmental factors. It is manifest in external appearances: respondents described an *ordentlike* person as being '*skoon en netjies*' (clean and neat), and 'decent' places are visibly maintained (2005: 639).

According to Ross, *ordentlikheid* is not just something that is confined to outward appearance and cleanliness, but it also involves the demeanour and personality of the person. If someone is always friendly and displays hospitality to everyone, that person is considered to be *ordentlik*.

To be *ordentlik*, or to be considered by others as being *ordentlik*, serves as a means of liberation. Ross posits that "ideals of ordentlikheid may hold imaginative promise or even liberatory force - offering the possibility of making proper persons - while simultaneously forcing conformity and subjection" (Ross, 2005: 7). According to Ross *ordentlikheid* is made visible in styles of speech and the material possessions in the house. Humility and consistency of character are also key to *ordentlikheid*. The concept *ordentlikheid* is fluid and contextual. Ross states that *ordentlikheid* was taken very seriously because

> it offered a means to secure a sense of dignity in the face of disparagement by those who lived outside the community … *ordentlikheid* offers positive imaginative horizons; a way of escaping or at least envisaging an alternative to the harshness of everyday worlds and the structural violence that shapes them (Ross, 2005: 7).

The striving for *ordentlikheid* simultaneously offers imagined and aspirational horizons, but also opens up the possibility of judgment from others if these aspirations aren't met.

This applies to food too, because in Paternoster it is common practice to feed visitors, be it a cup of tea or a plate of food. When visiting people in their houses, I regularly got offered either something to drink, or to eat. One day I spoke to three women, one who stays in Kliprug and two who stay in Hopland and they were talking about a party that they had gone to and mentioned the amount of food at

the party. An incident that all three of them felt strongly about was when one woman at the party left there with three plates heaped with food. They found this incredibly rude and she was seen as not being '*ordentlik'* because of the fact that she was carrying away so much food. They also said that this woman was known for doing this; one of her main reasons for going to funerals was, according to them, in order to eat the food there and take some of it home. Even though refusing food when offered is viewed as an insult, taking away too much food is seen as even more distasteful.

Another way in which people attempt to maintain *ordentlikheid* with reference to food in Paternoster is that if you don't have food in your house, this is not something that everyone needs to be aware of. You are viewed as being more *ordentlik* if you 'suffer in silence' and not tell everyone that your house is in need of food. One respondent and her mother told me that most of the time they don't have anything to eat at home, but that is no one's business. '*Almal hoef nie te weet hoe swaar dit gaan nie'* / (Everyone does not need to know how difficult things are). *Ordentlikheid* manifests as reliability in the conduct of social relations. It has to do with approved forms of sociality as these are made apparent in appearances and interaction: both in recognition by others and in self-projection" (Ross 2005: 640). Therefore it is seen as more *ordentlik* in Paternoster to not project oneself as suffering so as to maintain dignity. The study of Ross refers to a community in Somerset-West in the Western Cape province of South Africa but comparisons can be made to the community in Paternoster.

The three main theoretical foci namely a feminist approach, the limitations of studies of food security, and the symbolism of food, explored in this chapter and applied throughout the thesis are important in framing the ways in which food security is experienced in Paternoster, the factors contributing to food security and the ways in which food security is managed, particularly by women, within households. The application of an overarching feminist approach in the exploration of the ways in which women in Paternoster manage household food security allows for a consideration of the impact that a gendered division of labour has on the socially defined roles of men and women in Paternoster. These socially constructed and culturally defined gender roles are enacted and perpetuated in various food practices within households and the community at large. By applying a feminist approach I attempt to overcome the limitations of studies of food security which tend to focus largely on the nutritional aspect of food security. As discussed in this chapter, studies of food security need to include the social and cultural aspects of food production, consumption and discard in order to gain a deeper understanding of the factors which contribute to food insecurity and the various ways in which it is managed within households.

In Paternoster there is a distinct sense of community expressed by many of the people I had spoken to and the application of an anthropology of food lens was useful in explaining the ways in which the symbolic value of food and particularly seafood contributes to the community identity formation of

Paternoster as a fishing community. This sense of community is important in the establishment and maintenance of the various foodways and food networks in and between households which become very valuable strategies in the management of food security within households. These foodways will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four. The next chapter looks at the history of Paternoster and the current social conditions in some detail.

Chapter Three: History and social profile of Paternoster
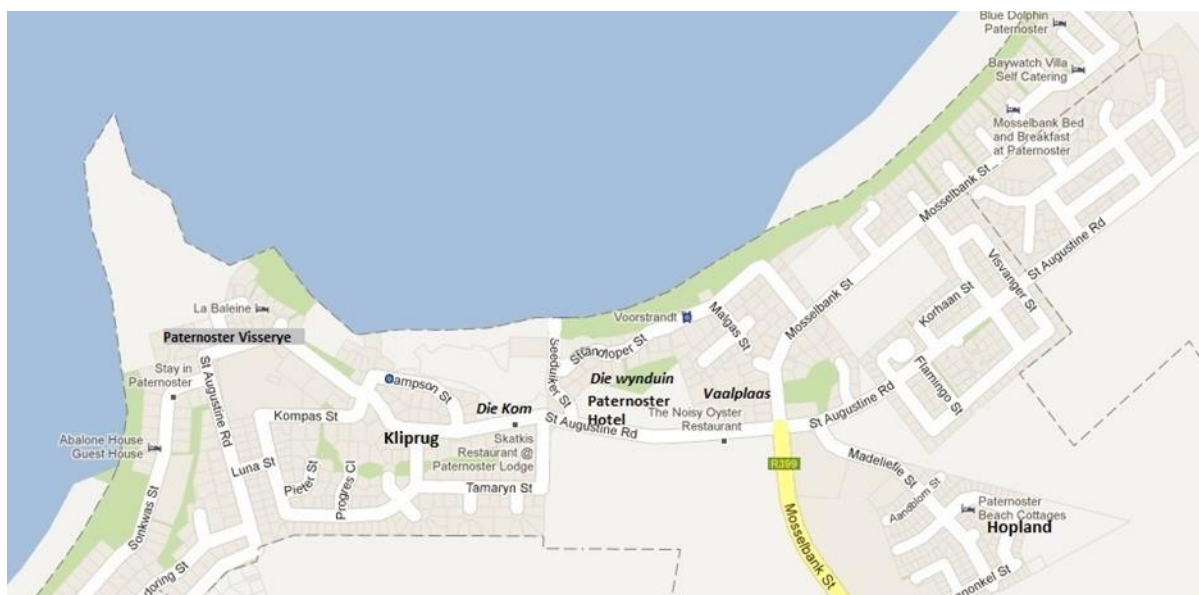
Map 1: Map of Paternoster

Paternoster is a small fishing village of some 1 454 people on the West Coast of South Africa, within the Western Cape Province. It is approximately 150 kilometres north of Cape Town and 15 kilometres northwest of Vredenburg, within the Saldanha Bay Municipal area. Vredenburg is the closest town to Paternoster with its major shopping centres and transportation links to the Cape Town metropolitan area. There are three taxis that travel between Paternoster and Vredenburg, transporting people to the major shopping centres every day. Two of these taxis are owned by two men who live in Paternoster. There is a large taxi rank in Vredenburg which serves as the central point from which to commute to surrounding towns like Saldanha and Doringbaai and as far as Cape Town.

As already mentioned, Paternoster is divided into three distinct residential areas, each with their own particular histories: Vaalplaas, Kliprug and Hopland. As you enter Paternoster from Vredenburg, Hopland is on your right. This is a residential area largely comprised of government-built houses as part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[2]. The area that was historically known as Vaalplaas is at the entrance of the village and extends along the beach and further inland. Today this area is divided into what is today known as Voorstrand, closer to the entrance to the town, and Mosselbank, bordering the beach, which is where the majority of the upmarket beach houses are. Driving into the central part of the town, one passes the hotel on the left and ascends a small hill which

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[2] The name Hopland is derived from the Afrikaans acronym for *Herkonstruksie en Ontwikkelings Program (HOP)* or Reconstruction and Development Programme in English.

signals entry into Kliprug, the oldest residential area in Paternoster. On top of the hill and to the right one is afforded a spectacular view of the coast as the ocean stretches out toward the horizon. This is a section called *Die Kom* and today consists mostly of guest houses. The picturesque beauty and tranquillity of Paternoster makes it a very appealing holiday destination and since the town has seen a rise in the tourism industry. This in turn has led to a considerable increase in guest houses being built as the popularity of Paternoster as a holiday town has grown. There is a regular flow of tourists in and out of Paternoster with numbers increasing during holiday periods, especially over the summer, and the crayfish season. These developments have caused considerable tension in the town as many community members view the presence of tourists as a potential threat to their 'traditional fishing culture' and ways of living even while they also benefit from their presence.

The social and spatial dimensions of the village are characterised by sharp racialised divisions. These stark divisions can in part be ascribed to the 'Coloured Labour Preference' policy which was formulated under apartheid in the 1950s and was aimed at removing black people from the western part of the then Cape Province and utilising Coloured labour (Adhikari, 2005). Historically Paternoster developed as a fishing community in which the majority of residents were people who came to be classified and regard themselves as Coloured. Oral history, passed on from grandparents to parents and their children indicate that for at least 100 years the population of the town consisted primarily of people who were during apartheid classified as Coloured. For much of this time they made their living by mainly harvesting marine resources such as mussels, rock lobster and line fish and working for the factory. Hendrick, a 75-year-old man, was fond of reminding me that some years ago there were very few black and white people living in Paternoster and that many of them only moved there recently. According to some of the people I spoke to, black people only moved to Paternoster much later when the construction of guest houses was just taking off. They came to Paternoster as labourers but after their projects were completed, they stayed on and also took up fishing.

Paternoster is still comprised primarily of Coloured people and many of the white people who live there are mainly guesthouse owners and weekend or holiday visitors. The majority of the white population live in the area formerly known as Vaalplaas. Due to rapid real estate development, many guesthouses and big mansions have been built along the beach, including in an area on the beach now known as Die Kom. Many of these developments are rented out to the tourists who frequent the town. A large part of the black population in Paternoster stays in Hopland.

According to the Saldanha Municipality Integrated Development Plan for 2006-2011, in 2006 Paternoster had a total recorded population of 1 454 people. The breakdown of this population in terms of 'race' and gender is set out in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Paternoster: Demography by population group and gender 2006

Black African		Coloured		White		Total
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
61	66	594	610	54	60	1 454

Source: Saldanha Municipality Integrated Development Plan for 2006-2011

From this Table it is clear that the majority of the people living in Paternoster are categorised as Coloured, a racial category constructed and defined by the previous apartheid government and imposed on people in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1951. As already noted, however, it is an identity that is accepted by the majority of those classified in this way, who regard Paternoster as historically a Coloured fishing community. Van Sittert et al. note that

> [c]ontrary to international usage, in South Africa the term "Coloured" does not refer to black people in general. It instead alludes to a diverse group of people descended largely from slaves, indigenous Khoisan peoples and other black people who had been assimilated to colonial society by the late nineteenth century. Being also partly descended from European settlers, Coloureds are popularly regarded as being of 'mixed race' and occupy an indeterminate status in the South African racial hierarchy, distinct from the historically dominant white minority and the numerically predominant African population. 'Black' is a generic term in South Africa for those ethnic groups identified by apartheid policy as 'Indian', 'African' or 'Coloured' (Van Sittert et al: 2006).

The Coloured population of Paternoster makes up 83% of the total. Black and white people make up 8.7% and 7.8% respectively.

In this chapter I briefly review the history of Paternoster and the fishing industry and then address current socio-economic conditions in the village. A review of the history of Paternoster as a fishing community is important in that it explains the ways in which the identity of Paternoster as a community has been shaped by the process of fishing as well as the ways in which this identification reinforces gender norms around food. Another important aspect of the context of Paternoster that is explored in this chapter is the way in which changes in the regulation of the fishing industry has

impacted on the livelihoods of the people living in Paternoster, including shifts within gender relations around the provision of income and management of household food security. This discussion is also important for contextualising the experiences of the women and households profiled in my next chapter, as well as for providing insight into the socio-economic circumstances and demographic composition of the larger community.

1. History

There are many stories about where the name of the town comes from, but one that seems to be most favoured is that the name 'Paternoster' was given by the survivors of the Portuguese ship 'Columbine' that sank on the shores of Paternoster in 1829. After surviving the shipwreck, the sailors thanked the Lord for their deliverance from a watery grave with the prayer 'Our Father' which translates to Paternoster. The Columbine lighthouse, situated 3 kilometres south-east of Paternoster, was established in 1936.

A 2003 report compiled by Jackie Sunde on Vaalplaas, a historically significant part of Paternoster close to the beach which was used as grazing for fishermen's livestock, states that

> archaeological records suggest that the area was inhabited by humans from pre-colonial times who harvested the marine resources in the area ... Nearby St Helena Bay is recorded as the first landfall site of the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama in 1497. Early explorations by the VOC in the region suggest that at the time the area was populated by transitory bands of pastoralists cum hunter-gatherers (2003: 9).

Sunde goes on to note a rich oral tradition of family history-telling in the region. There are many uncertainties and thus many speculations on ownership of land. This is reflected in the historical memory of the inhabitants of Paternoster. Family members of the people who used to live in Vaalplaas record that in the late 19th Century their ancestors, known as *Ou Oom* [Old uncle] Awie Coraizin and his wife, Magdaleen Coraizin, came to the area known as Vaalplaas from further north along the coast. Oom Awie was a fisherman and a builder who also had some livestock and came to Vaalplaas in search of new grazing for his cattle (2003: 9).

Sunde states that it is unclear what the relationship was between the original settlers, Mr Awie Coraizin and his family, and the registered owners of the land, possibly Mr C. J. Walters. The formal ownership and other tenurial relationships that might have existed on the portion of land that came to

be known as Vaalplaas when the Coraizins first settled on this land are not recorded. Vaalplaas is not referred to directly within the deeds register, but historically formed part of a much larger property that was named 'Uitkomst', portions of which were divided off and transferred to a number of different owners. The deeds for the portion of the farm Uitkomst which appear to correlate with the boundaries of Vaalplaas as it was known to the families who lived there indicate that the farm was granted to a Mr C. J. Walters in 1878 under the Colonial Crown Land Disposal Act. He subsequently transferred the Vaalplaas land to a Mr David Marthinus Pharo in 1928, from whom it passed to Mr Gert Pharo in 1929 (Sunde 2003: 9). According to Sunde there is no evidence that Walters ever actually occupied, used or lived on the land or any part of it.

Whatever the circumstances surrounding the legal ownership of the land, what is known is that Mr Awie Coraizin occupied a vacant piece of land on what is known locally as Vaalplaas, where he built a cottage. In the years that followed he built houses for his children and their family members as well. According to Sunde's report on Vaalplaas, two of these cottages (built prior to 1900) remain today and this building tradition was carried forward by his son who is credited with the building of the church in Paternoster as well as a number of other buildings in the St Helena Bay region (2003: 6). Unlike in Kliprug where housing was tied to employment in the factory, there does not appear to have been any suggestion that prior to the 1960s tenancy in Vaalplaas was linked in any way to employment with the registered landowner. Mr Awie Coraizin and the other occupants who built houses in Vaalplaas were not required to work for or pay rent to the owners of the land. They were free to renovate and maintain their houses as they saw fit (Sunde 2003). Research conducted by Van Sittert on the history of the greater Saldanha Bay area and the social and political aspects of the area is of particular importance as it addresses these issues and many of the current challenges faced by community members can be ascribed to these historical processes.

The history of housing in Kliprug, which lies to the west of Vaalplaas right above the main beach, is different. Many of the houses in Kliprug were originally built for the fishermen who worked for the fishing factory, Paternoster Fisheries, by Dawie Walters, the owner of the factory. The people living in these houses did not pay rent but ownership of these houses was tied to their labour status as fishermen for Paternoster Fisheries. He started his fishing company in Paternoster in 1911. He was a local from Paternoster and grew up there. Dawie Walter's grandfather, J. C. Walters, owned a considerable amount of land in Paternoster and was one of the fishing merchants in the Paternoster area.

The promulgation of the Group areas Act, Act No 41 of 1950, in South Africa demanded the forced physical segregation of people classified according to racial categories. According to this Act urban areas were divided into zones which were ordered along racial lines where members of a specific racial

group could or could not live and work. It was a criminal offense to live in or own land in an area designated for another racial group. Paternoster was not exempt from these laws as mentioned earlier and, as stated by Sunde,

> on the 28 December 1966 … the State President, CR Swart, signed Proclamation 4 which declared Paternoster a group area for white people only. From that day onwards any person classified Coloured could no longer legally live in their family homes, unless employed by the owner or under special permit (2003: 22).

According to Sunde's report, Kliprug was designated a Coloured Group area and many Coloured community members who found themselves living in areas which had then become classified as 'White' were forced to move there. As already described, this spatial segregation along racial lines, though no longer officially enforced, remains today.

2. The fishing industry

Long-time residents of Paternoster recall how, historically. people could catch as much fish as they needed to, but now the catch is limited by quota regulations (discussed further below). When I spoke to my landlord, he was fond of referring to the past when he fished as a young boy with his father. He recalls that they would go out in the mornings and fish for as many crayfish or line fish as they wanted and would either sell their catch or take it home.

In Paternoster, longstanding residents consider a fisherman to be someone whose main source of employment is fishing, or someone who comes from a line of fishermen. Despite the problems in the fishing industry there has been a reported increase in fishermen in Paternoster. This is accounted for by the fact that many men have not moved out of Paternoster and have also taken up fishing. I spoke to some of the young boys who were now taking up fishing with their fathers. Hendrick's son, Elton, said that he had always wanted to be a fisherman like his father. This is the only thing that he knows and there is nothing else that he would rather do. He finished his secondary education and matriculated. Some of the older folk ascribe the fact that the young people stay in Paternoster and take up fishing to the lack of job opportunities in and around Paternoster. Another reason why there has been an increase in fishermen even though there is a definite decline in fishing livelihoods is the rise in *inkommers,* new residents who are not originally from Paternoster, who have also become fishermen.

The proximity of the houses in both Vaalplaas and Kliprug to the sea illustrates the importance of the ocean in the lives of the residents. Historically, without access to motor cars, it was important for

fishers to be as close as possible to the shore in order to enable easy access to the ocean. The fishing boats scattered on the shore are reflective of this. One of the fishermen, Johannes, walked with me on the beach one morning as they were getting ready to go out to sea for the day and showed me the natural beacons that they used for direction and navigation. He pointed to an outcrop of rocks on the horizon and explained that when they pass that particular point, they know that they have gone far enough. He said that many days he would sit on the dune opposite the hotel in the morning and watch as the tide comes in or goes out. In this way he always knew what the day at sea would be like. All of this was done without the use of sophisticated equipment. This speaks to the age-old knowledge that these fishermen have of the ocean, the currents, and the movements of the fish. This is knowledge that has been passed on from generation to generation, which is still being passed on today.

As is discussed further below, it is often the case that the knowledge among the fishermen themselves about the resources that they harvest has not always been recognized by officials. The lack of communication between the local fishers and government officials who effect changes in fishing policies deepens existing cleavages between the two categories. This in turn leads to non-compliance by fishers and fuels the frustration of government officials. According to Hauck (2008: 638) even when attempts are made to develop the fishing communities, the goals of fisheries are generally biological and neglect social goals such as employment, community well-being, and food security:

> Traditionally, fisheries resources have largely been allocated and managed through scientific expertise that has focused on national economic objectives rather than the people and livelihoods that are affected. Thus, fisheries management has largely been the responsibility of fisheries biologists and economists, which has resulted in the neglect of the experience of traditional fishers.

For much of the 20th century Paternoster Fisheries, Langklip Fisheries and Buccaneer Fisheries were among the main sources of employment for the people of Paternoster. Many of the fishermen I spoke to recalled working for Paternoster Fisheries for a considerable amount of time. Hennie, a 56-year-old fisherman, told me that as a young boy he remembers his father working at Paternoster Fisheries, and when he was old enough he too started working for the company as a fisherman. Many of the women who were involved in the fishing industry also worked for Paternoster Fisheries packing fish. Some of the women also worked in St Helena Bay in the fish factories there. This involved mainly the post-harvest activities of cleaning, processing and packaging of the fish.

In 1992 the fishers who worked for Buccaneer Fisheries were informed that the fishing company was being sold and that they would no longer be employed. The Buccaneer Fisheries quota was then sold to Paternoster Fisheries. There were varied responses to the news among the fishers. Some went to work

for Paternoster Fisheries and some went to work for other fishing factories in the area. Today Paternoster Fisheries is the only fishing factory in Paternoster but it is employing considerably fewer fishers than in the past. One of the women who worked as a cleaner in the factory said that it employed about 30 people.

Paternoster Fisheries has downscaled employment considerably because of improved methods of fishing that requires fewer workers.

> Paternoster Fisheries, for example, which owns a factory that processes crayfish, abalone and other seafood, fishes with three large boats and has a permit for 45 tonnes of crayfish (an average crayfish weighs about three kilograms) for the season — usually from mid-November to mid-April — but employs only about 30 people during the crayfish season to maximise profits (Palitza 2009: 1).

Paternoster Fisheries currently processes crayfish, abalone and other seafood and fishes with three large boats. Because of the use of three large boats as opposed to employing a few fishermen who go out at sea with their smaller boats, many of the fishermen were retrenched and forced to look for alternative employment.

3. The changing regulatory environment

Hauck (2008:637) states that globally approximately 1 billion people rely on fish as a major source of animal protein. According to Berkes *et al.* "the importance of the world's fisheries, and especially the small-scale fisheries, in providing food, income and livelihood cannot be overemphasised, especially in developing countries" (quoted in Hauck 2008: 637).

The majority of the fishermen in Paternoster can be defined as small-scale fishers. This term is often used interchangeably with traditional, subsistence and artisanal fishers. According to Snowman, there seems to be a general agreement that the term 'subsistence' refers to those fishers who are poor, fish mainly for food and may exchange or sell surplus harvest to meet basic needs (2006: 61). McGoodwin refers to artisanal fishers as "fisher-artisans whose art is the skill, experience and intuition they apply to their fishing effort" (quoted in Snowman 2006: 61). Snowman states that,

> the term small-scale industry is usually used to distinguish between capital intensive commercial fisheries, on the one hand, and low technology, labour intensive fishing activities, on the other ... the use of the term small-scale is the most useful, mainly because it is the most encompassing and spans a range of

activities from subsistence, at one end of the continuum, through small groups of traditional operators to formal fishing enterprises, at the other (2006: 61).

Fishing in this sector is considered a low income occupation, and communities that engage in small scale fishing often have poor infrastructure and living conditions. The fishing activities that small-scale communities engage in are not homogeneous and should be defined within each particular economic and socio-cultural context. In this thesis, the term small-scale is used as an encompassing term that describes the fishermen in Paternoster who are self-defined subsistence fishers as well as fishermen who fish to sell and are not solely dependent on this activity as a means of securing food and who do not define themselves as subsistence fishermen.

Subsistence harvesting patterns along the coasts of South Africa have been continuous, but the process of colonialisation had a profound impact on the harvesting patterns of the indigenous people of the Cape (Van Sittert 2003: 2). Snowman and Cardoso state that "colonial exclusion from the 17th century onward only allowed whites to enter the commercial and recreational sectors and created an informal sector of designated black 'poachers'. Recent research suggests that small-scale fisheries still play an important role in meeting food needs in coastal communities and are an integral part of their cultural tradition" (2010: 1167).

Table 2 Demographic profile of 'subsistence' fisher households in South Africa

Region	Type of fisher (self-definition)		Average household size
	Subsistence %	Small-scale%	
West Coast	97.7	2.3	4.2
South Coast	46	54	3.5
East Coast	91.6	8.4	6.7
Kwa-Zulu Natal	99.7	0.3	6.6

Source: Snowman 2006: 63.

In Table 2 it is evident that the majority of small-scale fishers in South Africa are self-defined subsistence fishers. In the West Coast alone 97.7% of fishers are subsistence fishers with only 2.3% being commercial fishers. It is significant that even though the majority of the fishers on the coast of South Africa are subsistence fishers, subsistence fishing was only formally recognized as an official

sector in 1998. This illustrates the ways in which small-scale fishers have been historically marginalized.

Before the onset of industrial fishing in South Africa, "people previously classified as Coloured under apartheid played a dominant role in the fishing sector in the Western Cape" (Leer in Snowman 2006:61). This is certainly the case in Paternoster where the majority of the population is Coloured. The development of the fishing industry and the institutionalization of apartheid and its discriminatory legislation, systematically excluded Coloured and Black subsistence fishers from direct legal access to fisheries and its resources. This also means that fishing became an economic niche to them which may work today as a form of exclusion of others.

The Marine Living Resources Act

In order to understand the socio-economic conditions of the people living in Paternoster that engage in marine resource use activities, it is useful to discuss the features of the legislative background and the processes involved in the allocation of fishing rights.

In South Africa marine fisheries are governed by the Marine Living Resources Act (MLRA) No. 18 of 1998 (Republic of South Africa 1998). The Act has been amended by the Marine Living Resources Amendment Act (MLRAA), No. 68 of 2000 (Republic of South Africa 2000). Before the MLRA there was the Sea Fisheries Act (No. 12, 1988) and amendments. The purpose of the MLRAA is:

> to provide for the conservation of the marine ecosystem, the long-term sustainable utilisation of marine living resources and the orderly access to exploitation, utilisation and protection of certain marine living resources; and for these purposes to provide for the exercise of control over marine living resources in a fair and equitable manner to the benefit of all the citizens of South Africa; and to provide for matters connected therewith (Republic of South Africa 2000).

"Prior to the promulgation of the Marine Living Resources Act (MLRA), only commercial and recreational fishers were formally recognised in South African law. Historical evidence indicates that indigenous people have been harvesting intertidal resources along the coast for many thousands of years" (Snowman 2006: 61). The exclusion of traditional, artisanal and subsistence fishers had lasting effects on small-scale fishing communities. This can be seen in the fact that despite the crucial role that small-scale fisheries plays in contributing to food security and poverty alleviation, this sector has been systematically neglected by fisheries managers over the years in favour of the commercial fishing sectors (Snowman 2006: 60). This exclusion of subsistence fishers in terms of legal rights

effectively resulted in small-scale fishers in South Africa being viewed as 'illegal' by the state prior to 1998 (Snowman 2006). Hauck states that subsistence fishing was either ignored or addressed by law enforcement efforts that resulted in fines or imprisonment (2008: 638).

It was only in 1998 that the MLRA tried to address the plight of subsistence, traditional and artisanal fishers who rely on marine resources as a source of food. "A key objective of the MLRA is the fundamental restructuring of the domestic fishing industry with a view to redressing historical imbalances and achieving substantive equality" (Witbooi 2006: 30). The underlying goals of the MLRA is to take into consideration the vulnerability of coastal resources and in so doing reflect the growing emphasis that the state wants to place on the need to promote sustainable fishing.

In the working paper titled *Socio-economic contribution of South African fisheries and their current legal, policy and management frameworks* by Crookes, de Wit, Hara & Jayiya (2008), they state that for the first time in the history of the country subsistence fishers were given recognition as a legitimate category. In order to make use of these newly acquired rights as legitimate fishers, however, subsistence fishermen had to obtain a permit. Provision was also made through the Act for the identification of subsistence fishers and fishing communities, as well as the zoning of coastal areas for the exclusive use by subsistence fishers. The MLRA raised hopes that South Africa's transition into a democracy in 1994 would rectify the previous misrecognition of a subsistence fishing sector and the exclusion of black fishers from the fishing industry (Crookes, *et al*, 2008). These ideals, however, have not been fully met. According to Crosoer, "fisheries transformation objectives have been 'internal' (narrow-based Black Economic Empowerment and 'blackening' of management) rather than 'external' with meaningful redistribution of fishing quotas" (in Snowman and Cordoso 2010:1167). The process of implementing the new regulations has been slow and by the end of 2004 only a few subsistence fishing rights had been issued (Crookes *et al*, 2008). As a consequence many fishermen did not have a fishing quota and either fished illegally or could not fish. "The lack of clarity regarding rights allocation procedures and the government's reluctance to issue subsistence fishing rights caused frustration among fishers, resulting in an increase in illegal fishing" (Isaacs, quoted in Crookes *et al* 2008: 15).

In the context of the management of marine living resources the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism determines the total allowable catch and the total applied effort, and allocates portions thereof to subsistence, recreational, local commercial and foreign fishing annually (Republic of South Africa 2000). A Subsistence Fisheries Task Group (SFTG) was appointed in 1999 to advise on the management of this newly recognized sector. The advice from the SFTG led to a redefinition of 'subsistence' and a recommendation that an additional small-scale commercial sector be created. This sector would accommodate subsistence and artisanal fishers who wanted commercial rights in order to

fish and sell resources that the SFTG deemed inappropriate for subsistence usage due to their potential commercial value (Hara, *et al*: nd). Snowman and Cordoso state that,

> while access to 'limited' commercial rights provided fishing rights and socio-economic benefits to some previously disadvantaged individuals who (similarly to deals in commercial industrial fisheries) benefited from BEE, the process of rights allocation largely excluded many poor fishers who had historically harvested marine resources. In many cases, even successful bona fide fisher applicants were allocated quotas insufficient to meet basic livelihood needs (2010: 1167).

This is something that many of the fishermen in Paternoster who I spoke to alluded to. Many complained that despite having received a permit to fish, it failed to meet their basic livelihood needs. Speaking to some of the fishermen in Paternoster, their complaints about the inadequacy of the permits and the disproportionate distribution of these permits, speaks to the lack of sufficient communication between government and policy makers and local fishermen. According to Snowman, "the lack of understanding of the dynamic and diverse nature of small-scale fisheries has contributed to their neglect and the failure to design and implement appropriate policies and management systems to cater for their special characteristics" (2006: 60).

In Paternoster, local fishermen are only able to make money during the five-month crayfish season. It is difficult to generate income throughout the rest of the year, as few shoals of fish pass through their waters and the permits they have received for these fish species are insufficient to generate an income. The government-issued subsistence licenses do not allow them to catch enough crayfish to support their families and save money for out-of-season months. They have a choice of catching four crayfish a day, or 90 crayfish a month. When I spoke to one of the fishermen about his situation he said that the four crayfish that they are permitted to catch per day can be sold for R200 but they need R150 per day for petrol for their boats. In addition to this they need to buy bait for the day at approximately R90-R120. With a minimum of two people on the boat, they don't make nearly enough to break even. Palitza states that "[t]he fishermen's main struggle is that they cannot compete with medium-sized to large fishing companies, who have the financial resources to purchase large boats and apply for massive fishing quotas that enable them to make big profits" (2009: para. 16).

This marginalization has adversely affected the living condition of subsistence fishing communities and is evident in Paternoster. The majority of the men that I spoke to in Paternoster were fishermen or were involved in fishing as their primary source of income. The fishermen who were involved in other

sources of income worked for fish trawlers or fish factories in and around the Saldanha Bay area. Some did odd jobs, but these jobs were sporadic and seasonal. In some of the households where members were not directly involved in fishing, there was still some sort of indirect link to the fishing industry and fish played an important role in their lives.

4. Socio-economic profile of Paternoster

Housing and development

In the 2001 census it was recorded that there were 351 house or brick structures on separate stands or yards, six 'traditional' dwelling/ hut/ structures made of 'traditional' materials, and 21 informal dwellings/ shacks in backyards. With the increase in development in Paternoster, many guesthouses have been built, so the number of brick structures in Paternoster has increased significantly. The majority of the RDP houses that were built by the government as part of the housing plan are in Hopland, as well as most of the informal dwellings in Paternoster which have been built in some back yards. The people living in the informal housing are mostly black. These are people who moved to Paternoster in search of work as either fishermen or builders. Many of the black men who moved to Paternoster brought their families along with them and over the years their extended families have joined them. As already noted, with the development of the tourism industry in Paternoster, there has been a significant increase in the number of both black and white people in Paternoster.

A Housing Committee was established in Paternoster in 1992 by then Minister Abie Williams which assisted the residents of Paternoster in obtaining housing. The Housing Committee facilitated the purchase of the houses by the fishers from the factory. The family that I stayed with in Paternoster owns one of these houses that previously belonged to the factory. The local Saldanha Bay Municipality, with the participation of the Housing Committee, also assisted many of the Vaalplaas residents in the application for and acquisition of housing in Kliprug.

> The first phase of this housing scheme comprised the *huurkoopskema* and was allegedly managed by the Housing Board, not the local municipality. This was followed by the *self bouskema*. This involved accessing a R30 000 loan and the government housing subsidy. The third phase involved the building of RDP houses by the municipality (Sunde 2003: 24).

The majority of RDP houses were built in Hopland but some were built in Kliprug as well.

As already indicated, there is a clear difference in both the living conditions and the socio-economic status between residents in Kliprug (living in the fishers' houses) and those in Hopland (living in the RDP houses). This can be ascribed to the fact that those households living in Kliprug have a long history of employment in the fishing industry in Paternoster and were fortunate to purchase these houses from the fishery. Kliprug is thus the oldest surviving residential area in Paternoster. Even though the development of the small fishing community started in the 19th Century in Vaalplaas, many of the original houses there were demolished and currently the area that used to be known as Vaalplaas consists mainly of a few empty plots and numerous guest and holiday houses. The original community members of Vaalplaas do not live there anymore. Nearly all residents of Vaalplaas have been forced to move to Hopland and Kliprug.

The spatial planning and layout of Paternoster is not very different to any other town in South Africa that was affected by the Group Areas Act of the apartheid government. In a research paper on Vaalplaas Sunde explored this and states that,

> it needs to be noted that the current developments in Paternoster continue to entrench the racial, cultural and class segregation introduced by the Group Areas Act and consolidated by the apartheid planning of local municipalities and housing boards. Paternoster has in the past twenty years become sought after as a popular weekend getaway and tourist destination. The original small whitewashed fisher cottages have given way to large holiday houses built in the same white washed thatched tradition. The community is now starkly divided between the wealthy, palatial homes of absentee white landowners on prime properties along the beach front and the small, overcrowded homes of the Coloured and black fishing community further away from the sea (Sunde 2003: 34).

Over the past 10 years wealthy holiday makers have started purchasing both RDP houses as well as the original whitewashed fisher cottages in Kliprug which have sea views. I was told by residents of Kliprug that these houses are highly sought after and in many cases the houses are bought from the residents at a price that is way less than the potential value of the property. Because many members of the community are very poor and not used to the realities of the real estate market, they do not realise that they are in fact being exploited. The development of these guest houses along the beach has dramatically changed the physical structure of Paternoster. The houses that are bought from the residents are transformed into large guesthouses. Many of my respondents complained about the fact that the houses that are built block their view of the sea. One woman I spoke to showed me a letter that had been sent to households in Paternoster. It was a letter from a prospective buyer offering to buy their houses from them. This woman stays in a house that has an unhindered view of the sea. She

told me that no matter how much money they offered her for her house, she was not going to sell it. Sunde states that, "those fishers living in the RDP homes immediately behind these new, often double story holiday homes have expressed a feeling of being 'surrounded and hemmed in' and that their connection with the sea, the source of their economic, social, cultural and psychological identities is threatened" (2003:35). There is a feeling of discontent among the community of Paternoster towards the *inkommers* buying up prime property. This could be ascribed to the fact that in most cases the local perception is that the houses are bought for less than what they are worth. Also, those who buy the houses are wealthier than the rest of the community and these houses pose a stark contrast between the different levels of socio-economic status.

As more houses are being built, the fishing community feels it is becoming more marginalized. On speaking to Nicole Clark, a community leader in Paternoster, I was told of a sense of marginalization. She recalled that four or five years ago the owners of the guest houses in *Die Kom*, an area on the beach just before Kliprug, decided to erect a wall and gate that prohibited anyone who did not reside in those guest houses from entering that particular section of the beach front. This gate was meant to privatise access to that section of the beach and its immediate built-up area. In this way the marginalization of the fishing community was not only ideological, but manifested in the physical marginalization and exclusion of community members from portions of the beach. The gate had been erected but was soon broken down by some of the community members in protest The section that they tried to close off is the part of the beach from which all of the fishermen in Paternoster launch their boats when they go out to fish. These boats are left on the beach after they offload their daily catch. The reason for this is that most of the fishermen do not have pickups and trailers with which to transport their boats to and from the beach. A woman who worked at the tourist centre at the fish market informed me that there were talks about removing the fishermen boats from the beach and placing them at the far end of the beach at Mosselbank. The reason for this is that some of the guests at the various guest houses have complained about the smell of fish around the boats that are right in front of the houses on the beach. Removing the boats from this particular location would prove detrimental to all the fishers in Paternoster because of its ideal position. For years fishers have launched their boats from this spot.

One 28-year-old woman from Kliprug recalls swimming at the beach at *Die Kom* when she was a child. She says that now the community rarely swim there at all. She ascribes this to the fact that the beachfront is now dominated by white holiday makers and they no longer feel comfortable frequenting that part of the beach. Many fishermen have complained that with the increase in guest houses and consequently holiday makers, there has been an increase in people taking their dogs for walks on the beach. The barking of the dogs often scares away schools of fish that fishers claim to

often follow for days. As part of the tourist attraction in Paternoster, tourists can rent kayaks and go out to sea for a few hours. Some fishermen claim that this too scares away a potential catch.

Livelihoods

As the previous discussion has made clear, historically the primary source of livelihoods in Paternoster has been fishing, both subsistence and commercial. It can be argued that the history of fishing as an occupation has defined the current sense of community in Paternoster. Many of the small-scale fishermen in Paternoster still depend on one another when they go out fishing. With at least two men on a boat and two other men helping to offload the fish from the boat as it comes in, fishing is a collective activity. In individual interviews with some of the community members, many alluded to the fact that they were a very close-knit community even though they have their differences. In a conversation I had with a community leader, she stated that even though they all had their differences, "people of Paternoster stand together".

Based on a socio-economic survey of Paternoster and Struisbaai conducted in 2005, Cardoso et al. state that "fishing was the primary source of income for 60% and 100% of the fishers in Paternoster and Struisbaai respectively. In both settlements, 83% of the fishers were not involved in other activities that brought in an income. Those fishers that engaged in other income-generating activities worked in fish factories, on trawler building sites and other odd jobs, all of which were part-time, seasonal or sporadic" (Cardoso et al 2006). As already noted, fishing in Paternoster is a male occupation.

In this context illegal fishing activities have become a significant source of livelihoods. Tourists are often advised not to buy crayfish from hawkers as this encourages the illegal fishing of crayfish. However, for the hawkers it is these illegal activities that ensure that they have money to support their families. Both the hawkers and the tourists buying the crayfish try and exploit each other. The hawkers will try and sell the crayfish for as much as they can and the buyers will try and pay the least that they can.

Many of the hawkers are young men between the age of 20 and 27. They claim that the reason why they have resorted to poaching and selling the crayfish illegally is because they struggle to find employment. They have not been awarded fishing quotas and hawking their illegal catch is the only means of survival at their disposal. There are various and opposing views from the rest of the community on this. Many claim that the reason why these young men poach is because they are lazy and do not want to look for a 'real' job. They state that these street hawkers give Paternoster a bad name and cause unnecessary conflict with the authorities. A 34 year old fisherman who works for one of the big fishing trawlers told me that these men are stupid. He said that they draw unnecessary

attention to the issue of poaching. He complained that many of the younger men have disregard for the law and authorities. They no longer hide the fact that they are engaging in illegal activities. He recalls that ten years ago he and many other fishermen would go out at night and catch crayfish illegally. In this way authorities could turn a blind eye. He speaks of a mutual understanding and respect that existed between the authorities and the poachers at that time. He argues that if the fishermen keep going out during the day when the chances of getting caught is greater, authorities will start to tighten their hold.

On the other hand the reason why many of the fishermen that I have spoken to speak openly about catching fish illegally is because many do not see anything wrong with it. They feel that it is their right to catch fish because the ocean does not belong to anyone and because the fishing quotas that they were awarded fall short in being sufficient to sustain a household. Although there has been an increase in the number of people who are legally able to fish, many traditional fishers have still been excluded.

Hauck states that,

> [t]he powerful economic interests of the state and large capital have marginalized
> small-scale fishers by prioritising their own interests over the socio-economic
> needs of traditional fishers. Inevitably, this illegitimacy of the management system
> has led to 'protest fishing', where fishers who do not have a legal permit continue
> to fish because they believe it is their right to do so (2008: 639).

Another reason why many fishers have refrained from complying with fishing laws is because of the history of the fishing industry and the state. The state has had a history of using its power to create monopolies and to dispossess traditional fishers of their rights. As a result, "the state found itself assailed on all sides by acts of social banditry, with endemic 'poaching' and the concomitant rise in 'black markets' in the inshore fisheries" (Van Sittert 2002: 46). Fishing regulations and laws are put into practice to ensure the sustainability of the environment and to hinder the exploitation of fishing resources. Anything that is in contrast to these laws and policies are seen as criminal (Van Sittert2002). Hauck is of the opinion that the definition of what constitutes an environmental crime can be contested. She argues that,

> [s]ome legal industrial activities may in fact be more detrimental to the
> environment than those deemed illegal by the state. In the fisheries context, for
> example, small-scale fishers argue that fishing methods and quantity of catch of
> highly industrialized fisheries (which are legal) far outweigh the negative impacts
> of the catches of those small-scale fishers who are considered illegal by the state,

but who rely on these catches for their livelihoods. Local stockholders will find it difficult to have their interests recognized alongside the interests of other stakeholders who are more powerful and have contrasting goals (2008: 639).

Because of these conflicting sentiments there has been a rise in animosity between the fishers and the government. Many of the fishermen consequently do not comply with fishing laws and rather engage in forms of protest fishing. This is done as a means of resistance as well as a means of survival. The noncompliance to the laws leads to social unrest in the community and often to conflict. The noncompliance of fishers can mainly be ascribed to the long history of exclusion and exploitation of small-scale fishers (Hauck 2008). Even though many of these fishers who are noncompliant do so out of necessity, not all fishers do it for this reason. Some fishers engage in poaching just to make some extra money. Some of the fishermen who extract marine resources illegally get caught by the authorities. Upon accosting, the fishers' nets get confiscated and in severe cases their boats get confiscated too, but this rarely happens. When their nets get confiscated, they simply return home and make new nets with which to fish. One morning early while I was drinking a cup of tea outside, I witnessed how a pickup parked in front of the neighbours' house and how four fishermen offloaded about four big bags filled to the brim with crayfish. This meant that they had caught crayfish throughout the night and in the early hours of the morning. This is against the law as all fishers have to finish catching crayfish by 16:00 every afternoon during the fishing season.

In this context women's economic role within the household has been shifting. Before the decline in the fishing industry in the Saldanha Bay area, many women worked in the fish factories in Paternoster and surrounding areas. Due to retrenchments at these factories many women are left jobless. The woman I stayed with recalled how she and the other women would leave the house at 5:00 in the morning and take the taxi to St Helena Bay to go to work in the fish factories. She spoke of how cold it was in the factories and that she still had problems with her joints in the winter because of it. This was about 12 years ago.

Many of the women I spoke to were unemployed and stayed at home taking care of the family. Naomi Cloete, the chairperson of Coastal Links and community leader, is quoted by Palitza as saying, "the women were all working at the fishing factory in St Helena Bay, doing the packing and so on, but because of all the retrenchments, they are now staying at home. They are unemployed. It's a huge problem. There is so much poverty" (2009: para. 18). Many of the women that I spoke to were previously employed by either Paternoster Fisheries or by one of the other fisheries in the surrounding area. Of the 24 respondents (all adults) with whom I conducted in-depth interviews, 16 were unemployed. All of the 16 unemployed women I conducted in-depth interviews with were married to fishermen. Seven were either divorced or widowed and nine were married.

An important source of income and social security in the new South Africa is the category of grants. The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) is responsible for paying social grants and administers six social grants: grant for older persons, disability grant, war veteran's grant, care dependency grant, foster child grant and child support grant. The women I interviewed either received monthly social grants like grants for older persons and child support grants or received money from their children who were employed and who could afford to support their mothers. Of the 16 unemployed women with whom I conducted in-depth interviews four received grants for older persons, two received disability grants and four received child support grants.

However, with the growth in tourism in Paternoster, many guesthouses have been built, and this in turn has presented some additional sources of income in Paternoster, particularly for women. The 8 respondents that were employed worked at the Paternoster Hotel, The Lodge, the guesthouses and the fish market respectively. Employment at the Paternoster Hotel, The Lodge and the fish market is permanent and slightly more secure than working at one of the guesthouses. The majority of the women who are employed at the hotel, lodge, and guesthouses are between the age of 24 and 48. At the hotel the older women work in the kitchen preparing the food and the younger women do the waitressing.

Men tend to be employed as gardeners, responsible for the upkeep of the grounds while the women work in the guesthouses as cleaners. This additional employment proved to be a necessity as many of the women who work in the guesthouses do so because their husbands are unemployed. This is one of the strategies that many of the women employ in their management of food security in the household. However, housework is generally sporadic as workers are only needed once bookings have been made by tourists. Like the fishing industry, this work also tends to be seasonal. Thus these jobs only serve as temporary relief to many who are unemployed. The months when there is a high demand for cleaners is usually between November and April when the guesthouses attract customers. This coincides with the crayfish season as many tourists come to Paternoster for this particular reason.

Poverty levels

As the following table shows, the majority of the population of Paternoster struggle with poverty.

Table 3 Paternoster: Individual monthly income

No income	R1 - R400	R401 - R800	R801 - R1 600	R1 601 - R3 200	R3 201 - R6 400	R6 401 - R12 800	R12 801 - R25 600	R102 401 - R204 800	Total
300	66	198	188	117	66	18	3	3	958

Source: Census 2001

A sizeable portion of the population does not have any income. This category includes children and the unemployed. Changes in the fishing industry and retrenchments at fisheries are among the factors that have contributed to unemployment in Paternoster and various strategies have been employed to manage food insecurity within the household. One of the strategies that some women in Paternoster employ, explored further in the next chapter, is the maintenance of social as well as food networks that they have built over the years. These networks consist of friends, neighbours and relatives who they rely on for aid during times of need. Living under conditions of poverty and material deprivation, it becomes a necessity to have these social networks at one's disposal. These social networks are also necessary because the fishing industry is one that is seasonal and thus there is a limited guarantee of security. These social networks that have been established over the years are ways in which many of the women in Paternoster manage food security in their households. The income of many of those who are employed barely covers the basic living expenses of the household. These networks are easier to establish and maintain by those who were born in Paternoster or who have lived there for a long time. It becomes much harder for those who are considered as *inkommers*. They are those who were not born in Paternoster. Regardless of how long someone has lived in Paternoster, if they were not born there, or their parents aren't from there, they are always regarded as *inkommers*. Negotiating who is an *inkommer* and who is not is comprised of a complex system of interactions and many times these lines become blurred. There is however a consensus on who are fishermen and who are not.

Substance abuse

With the increase in unemployment and poverty, there has been an increase in alcohol abuse in Paternoster. This is the case in most West Coast fishing communities. Across the Paternoster Hotel there is a big sand dune that is referred to by the locals as '*Die wynduin*'/ The wine dune. This dune has acquired this name because this is where many of the unemployed fishermen sit during the day and drink. When I was in Paternoster there could be as many as 15 men sitting there at a time, enjoying a drink together and sharing fishing stories. What is convenient is the fact that the local

liquor store is situated right next to the dune. Many times when walking past the dunes, I would also see one or two men lying under the trees, passed out. Joy, the woman I stayed with while in Paternoster told me about an old fisherman who would go to the dune to drink and would climb in the tree and sleep there. They would often make fun of the fact that no matter how drunk he was, he would never fall out of the tree.

The dune becomes a place where many fishermen congregate at various times. During the times when the fishing season is closed, men are seen sitting there drinking and staring at the sea, but as soon as the crayfish season starts the dune becomes completely transformed. Then men can be seen standing under the trees with their bakkies selling and cleaning snoek and other fish and there would be jovialness in the air. Men would hold up big snoek at passing cars offering them the catch of the day. One afternoon I stood under the trees with the fishermen and watched how they cleaned and sold the fish. Here and there would be a few young men selling crayfish that they were carrying in plastic bags. They would shout encouraging comments to passersby and make jokes with the waitresses standing in front of the Hotel across the road.

Image 2: *Die Wynduin* (author's photograph)

One morning as I took a walk with two women they made a quick stop at the bottle store and bought a quart of beer for the road. To these two women there was nothing strange about sharing a drink at 10 in the morning.

In addition to the ever present alcohol abuse by many of the community members, some of the residents have complained about the rapid increase in the use of the drug *tik* (crystal methamphetamine) in Paternoster. Some said that this is a recent development in the community and has been on the rise over the past ten years. Walking together from Kliprug to Hopland, a respondent showed me the '*Tik* House' where the dealers and users often go. The respondent informed me that the community feels helpless about this and the increase in the use of *tik* resulted in an increase in crime. Many of those who use *tik* are young people who are from Paternoster but who are unemployed and struggling to find employment. They then resort to crime in order to sustain their addiction. I was informed that there are regular break-ins at the many guesthouses as these serve as easy targets. One of the guesthouse owners informed me that the burglars use fishing rods through open windows and 'fish' for whatever is within reach.

The increase in substance abuse and crime is related to the increase in unemployment and poverty in Paternoster. Many of the households in Paternoster are food insecure and members of these households are forced to search for alternative employment in order to meet the daily needs of the household.

The fishing policies and the implementation thereof have had a direct influence on food security in Paternoster. The households of fishermen who have not been awarded a fishing quota are vulnerable to food insecurity and alternative sources of income are then needed. Because there is a lack of job opportunities in Paternoster, men are left unemployed and the household greatly depends on the social networks that have been established over time to survive. In the majority of the cases it is the woman in the household who maintains these social networks. The establishment and maintenance of these social networks becomes one of the main strategies women employ in securing food in the household.

Paternoster and the local fishing industry are integrated into regional, national and international economies and are continuously shaped and reshaped by developments in these spheres. Changes in these spheres have a direct impact on the lives of the people living in Paternoster. Both Vaalplaas and Kliprug were built and developed for and by fishermen, and the whole of Paternoster has historically been a fishing village. The history of Paternoster is important in contextualising the study as well as the current social profile of the village. The act of fishing and the accompanying meanings attached to fishing plays a very central role in the identity of the town and the people living there. Fish and fishing as symbols of the town, are most important. Not only is fishing fundamental to individual as well as group identity of the community and its members, but fishing and the fishing industry has a

visible impact on the physical structures as well as the day to day interactions in the village. This identity formation around fishing has very definite implications for the gender dynamics in the town because of the highly gendered nature of fishing and the different roles performed by men and women.

As a town that consisted largely of fishermen the historical changes that took place, particularly within the regulatory fishing industry, greatly impacted on the income and livelihoods of households in Paternoster. Due to the fact that subsistence fishing was only recognized as a legitimate category in 1998 by the Marine Living Resource Act (MLRA), despite the fact that South African coasts have had a long history of subsistence fishing, many of these vulnerable communities were marginalized as mentioned earlier. This recognition has done nothing much in improving the plight of subsistence fishermen. Because many fishermen do not have fishing permits there has been a rise in unemployment and this has contributed greatly to the risk that many households run of becoming food insecure.

The ways in which women manage household food security under these uncertain and difficult circumstances is imperative in ensuring that there is food on the table. In the chapter that follows, the intersection between food security, women and food will be explored by focussing on food maps and food routes used by households in Paternoster. An exploration of established foodways which exist in and between households sheds light on the ways in which women manage household food security in Paternoster.

Chapter Four: Mapping food: foodways and women's management of food security

The previous chapter has highlighted the fact that Paternoster is a village that has had an intimate relationship with fishing and the sea over a long period of time. However, because fishing is seasonal, those who are dependent on the sea are often in a position of relative uncertainty with regards to food security. This is especially the case with subsistence fishermen. Furthermore, changes in the regulatory fishing environment have had a significant impact on the livelihood of fishers and households dependent on marine resources. At the same time there have been various developments around incomes and employment opportunities for women in Paternoster.

In order to understand the ways in which women in Paternoster manage household food security, it is important to take into account the cultural, social and political context of the town. Gender norms and particularly the ways in which these are performed in the everyday gendered division of labour have a significant impact on household food security, the relationship with food and the management of food security in and between households. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, labour and household duties are generally determined along gender lines. The physical act of fishing is still largely a male domain whereas women are confined to the domestic domain of either the pre- or the post-harvest. These functions are generally supplementary to the primary function of fishing performed by their male counterparts. This gendered division of labour and responsibilities is a reflection of existing social structures, especially regarding bargaining positions and patriarchal relationships within Paternoster. "For an analysis of food security at the household level it is thus essential to take into consideration the gender division of labour and household roles as well as the effect of an increase in income on women's workload and who is in control of this additional income" (Kotze 2003: 115).

In Paternoster these divisions of labour are highly visible both in practice and in the local discourse around fishing. Gender as linked to labour is actively performed by both men and women in Paternoster. This gendered division of labour is reflected in the foodways in and between households in Paternoster. Historically the foodways in households in Paternoster had a common origin. For many households food was primarily sourced directly from the sea and households depended largely on harvested marine foods. As discussed in Chapter Three not only is the ocean and marine harvested food important for sustenance but also for the social and symbolic identity of Paternoster.

This chapter explores the social networks, gathering and sharing of food, material and symbolic relationships between women and food and the linkages between these relationships and the management of food security in the household. A consideration of the practical ways in which these relationships is manifested in the various strategies employed by women in the management of food

security, particularly the establishment and maintenance of foodways in and between households, highlights the important role that women in Paternoster play in ensuring that households are food secure. Tracing food or creating food maps ethnographically illustrates the connection between food security and place at the local level. An ethnographic mapping of food reveals the ways in which food moves between households and reflects the food systems and resources that households draw upon in times of need. By using ethnographic vignettes from my fieldwork, this chapter offers descriptions and analyses of the various households and the food networks that exist. In contexts where resources are limited, social networks are important sources of support. A key focus of this chapter is an exploration of these social networks and how they impact on household food security.

1. Households and foodways

According to Marte "food maps are maps of relations, perceptual models of how people experience the boundaries of local home through food connections" (2007: 262). In this chapter, food maps trace instances where food is produced by one person and passed on to other people. In this way the perceptual and social boundaries of the household and its networks, and more importantly, the state of food security in the household, as well as in the community, can be traced. Food mapping was useful in understanding the ways in which women manage food insecurity in the household as it provided a narrative about the gendered experiences of women. These food narratives proved to be very significant in identifying the existing food networks as well as the importance of memory and the cultural history of Paternoster as a fishing village. The ways in which I constructed the food maps in the context of Paternoster was mainly by means of observation and oral narratives from the women I engaged in discussion.

By focusing on a small selection of the households in Paternoster it is possible to trace food relations through the daily interactions of these households, and the survival of families and individuals in their respective households. As mentioned in Chapter One, I focused largely on households in Kliprug even though food often moved between houses in Kliprug and Hopland. Food mapping serves as a means of framing the experiences of members of households within the context of Paternoster, but also as a conceptual framework for analysis. Food relations go beyond the plate of food, but include local routes, socio-cultural relations of food, and the individuals and locations implicated in this passage (Marte 2007).

One of the ways in which food can be mapped is to explore the individual plate of food, the ingredients, and the historical implications, which point to how and why this specific meal has come

to be considered important in ensuring food security within the household. In this way, the specific meanings attached to this food and the various reasons why this specific food has been selected in the given context, can be understood. Food mapping makes it possible to explore the various versions of the specific meals that are being cooked, the individuals cooking and distributing them from their specific kitchen contexts, as well as the cultural history of the specific individuals, households and community. With Paternoster being a fishing village, the various meals made from fish and other marine harvested resources have a very specific historical significance. By tracing the ways food reaches the household, from shops, restaurants, food exchanges and community networks, it is possible to determine the food security of the various households.

A consideration of food maps and foodways between houses frames the experiences of households and their relationship with food, but more importantly, it highlights the socio-economic conditions of the household and its state of food security. In addition to this, the establishment and maintenance of foodways between households become very important coping strategies in ensuring food security within households. This will be discussed in greater detail in this chapter. The gender relations around the collection, distribution and consumption of food are reflected in the established foodways within and between households. In order to understand the different ways in which women in Paternoster experience and manage food security in their households I start with a description of households that are most likely to experience food insecurity and then move on to a description of households that are least likely to experience food insecurity and the coping strategies employed by the women in these households in order to deal with these realities.

Many of the households in Paternoster are not conventional nuclear families consisting of a mother, father and children. In many cases, men as husbands and fathers are absent due to various reasons like death or divorce and the households are female-headed. Of the 16 households where I conducted interviews nine women were married and living with their husbands. Daughters and their children usually stayed with the mother. Teenage pregnancies drastically changed the structure of the household. This restructuring of the household or divergence from the conventional structure has a direct impact on the foodways that are established between households. Despite the relatively small size of the village, Paternoster had a large variety of household compositions.

The fishermen who stay in Kliprug are fortunate in that the site on the beach where the boats are launched is in Kliprug at a section on the beach called *Die Kom*. This makes it a little more difficult for the fishers staying in Hopland as they have to walk quite a distance to get there. Fish and seafood both serve primarily as food as well as a source of income for fishermen, and to many this is where their foodways start. Fish that is caught is either sold as a means of generating income with which to buy food and pay for other household needs or it becomes the primary source of nutrition for others.

Additional foodways that start with fish and other marine harvested resources are foodways that are established through the act of sharing either within households or between households.

Just as there is a physical difference between the types of houses in Kliprug and Hopland, there is also a difference in the types of foodways. Food regularly moved between Kliprug and Hopland and took on different meanings in each respective area. Kliprug is older than Hopland and consequently has well established food networks which have been maintained over time. These established food networks could also be ascribed to the fact that in contexts where there is a need and where there are limited resources a greater need arises for the establishment of food networks in efforts to manage food insecurity. Even though these exist in Hopland too, the constant influx of *inkommers* means that there are always new residents that make the establishment and maintenance of food networks more difficult. This, however, does not mean that food networks do not exist in Hopland, it merely means that the maintenance of these networks require more effort. Because these food networks might not be as well established their sustainability is at stake. In a context of limited resources the establishment and maintenance of food networks becomes very important in managing food security.

My study focuses mainly on the households in Kliprug because of its historical significance as the oldest residential area in Paternoster. Foodways that have been established in and between households in Paternoster are very important. These foodways have been structured along kinship lines and friendships that have been maintained throughout the years. The exploration of the various food maps indicates that "peoples' food choices are neither random nor haphazard, but exhibit patterns and regularities" (Murcott 1982: 203). The ways in which food is prepared and consumed provides a material means of expressing the structure of social relationships and the context in which it occurs (Murcott 1982).

2. Women as managers of food

One Sunday morning I squeezed through a packed church to a seat close to the window. Finding a seat was difficult and to accommodate the constant stream of people entering the church, there were additional rows of plastic chairs packed in crammed rows at the back of the church. The big windows of the small church let in a flood of light and a view of a calm blue sea stretched as far as the eye could see. The ocean means a lot to people in Paternoster. It becomes a mother, a lover, a home. The one taking and the other giving. As often as the men take what the ocean gives, she too claims. It was November and it signalled the start of the long awaited fishing season. That morning there was a special service for the fishermen of the community. This is an annual ceremony and for many of the fishermen, as I was told jokingly, the only time some of them went to church. Slowly the church

began to fill with fishermen dressed in their Sunday best. Old, sun-burnt faces reverently took off their sun-bleached caps and found a seat. After everyone had entered and found a seat, the reverend took to the stand and started the special sermon. He preached of Jesus and his disciples of fishermen and how he instructed them to cast their nets to the other side. The reverend prayed that, like the disciples in the Bible whose nets were so full of fish that it nearly burst, so too would it be for the nets of the Paternoster fishermen.

This was the first time that I had seen so many fishermen all gathered in one place. It was a meeting of the men and women who greatly depended on the ocean for food and income. The number of men present greatly outnumbered that of women. The church service reflected the material dependency of the community on fishing but simultaneously pointed to the importance of fishing in the formation of community identity. The men and women who were gathered in the church on that day were there for similar reasons. The act of gathering together became a communal acknowledgement of their dependence on the ocean. Apart from the symbolism of this very important church service, it was a reflection of the ways in which labour, and particularly fishing, are divided along gendered lines and how these divisions are performed in ceremony and perpetuated in practice. Throughout the sermon the reverend emphasised the important role that fishermen play in providing for their families with little reference to the role of women.

As was the case with the woman I was staying with while in Paternoster, many of the wives and mothers and sisters of those men did not come to the service because they were at home, preparing the Sunday lunch. Despite the likelihood that many of the fishermen that attended the church service that day might not have been in possession of a fishing permit, this did not deter them from coming because for many fishing and being fishermen forms an important part of their identity. Fishing and marine harvested food are deeply important to the livelihoods and food security of many households in Paternoster both directly and indirectly and for many households the sea forms an important part of their food networks.

In Paternoster women generally do not fish. This is common practice which I was reminded of in countless conversations with community members. There are exceptions to this rule but these were few and far between. Despite this gendered division of labour in fishing there are various alternative options for employment open to women. These alternative sources of employment are not in fishing, but there is a direct link. These alternative sources of employment presented themselves through the increased tourist activity in the town which thrives because of Paternoster's relationship with fishing. These positions were filled by many of the women in Paternoster. The women who are fortunate to secure a job as a cleaner at one of the guesthouses or who are employed at the Paternoster Hotel or one of the restaurants are better able to maintain food security in their household. Households that are

most likely to be food insecure depend on other coping strategies like collecting food from the ocean, drawing on existing food networks for support and taking out loans. It is often the households which are most in danger of being food insecure that depend greatly on collecting food.

Women's work and collected food

In Paternoster, the limpets and various other shellfish that are collected off the rocks, mainly by women, serve as an important source of nutrition, mainly in households which are food insecure. In Afrikaans the written form of the word for limpets is *perdevoete* or *klipmossel*. It is orally referred to by the local community as *perrevoete* and will be referred to as such throughout this chapter.

The collection of the *perrevoete* is fairly straightforward and the only tools that are needed are a plastic bag or other container and a sharp knife. There is no correct or incorrect way of preparing *perrevoete* as there are various recipes. The popular method of preparation would be to de-shell and clean them and then grind them in a meat grinder, if one has this tool, so that it closely resembles mince meat. In Paternoster the eating of *perrevoete* is obviously pragmatic in its simplicity, of high nutritious value and very symbolic. Personal preference, socio-economic status and the level of food security can be read off the specific versions of this dish and the ways in which the household members engage with it.

Image 3: Collecting *perrevoete*

In her article titled *Collected food and domestic knowledge in the Gambia, West Africa* Madge states that, "food preparation techniques are based on culturally-embedded and socially-constructed knowledge which is locally adapted and innovative. Such knowledge is increasingly recognized as a dynamic process, generated in and through labour practices" (1994: 281). In efforts to manage food insecurity within households, women in Paternoster draw on locally adapted techniques of food preparation. This is particularly evident in the way in which women prepare collected food and other marine harvested food which is embedded in socially constructed meanings.

There are many food routes that exist within and between households. These range from everyday food exchanges, whether food is cooked or otherwise, to food sharing and gifting practices. The strongest food networks within the community are those that exist between extended family households. Significant parts of the population of Paternoster are people who were born there and who have extended family staying there. These inter-family networks and routes between households are very important in the management of household food security. After the meal has been distributed within an individual's household, it is common to send over a plate of food to a neighbour or family

member. This, in turn, becomes the start of a new food route or the confirmation of an established one between households and simultaneously an additional means of managing food insecurity.

One September morning, just before 08:00, I passed some women who stood in their front yards with tightly wrapped nightgowns and head scarves, sweeping away the dust of the previous day. I made my way to May's house; the previous day she had invited me along to the beach to collect *perrevoete*. When I arrived at her house, she was already outside and ready to leave. Armed with a sharp knife, a plastic bag and a hat for protection from the sun, she greeted me and we made our way down to the beach. Without any utensils of my own, I felt somewhat ill-prepared for the task that lay ahead. As we meandered through the yards of whitewashed stone houses, wooden structures and a caravan, we passed women hanging colourful laundry on tight lines while others stood at the front doors greeting passersby. The taxi drove past us hooting and picking up passengers on their way to Vredenburg as we descended from Kliprug. Along the way we met Anna, a friend of May, who joined us. We passed the Lodge where a few women were standing outside smoking and talking and getting ready for their shift to start. Further down the road we could see waitresses sweeping outside the entrance of The Paternoster Hotel and wiping the seats outside. This hotel has been a major source of employment for many women as cleaners, cooks and waitresses. Across the hotel is the old post office which has now been converted into the local bottle store. The two women I was accompanying stopped at the bottle store and bought two quarts of Black Label beer. Anna put those in her bag alongside two glasses. The walk to Mosselbank where *perrevoete* are collected, mainly by some of the poorest people living in Paternoster, led us past rows upon rows of newly built guesthouses and holiday homes lining the beach. The contrast between these realities was striking.

When we finally arrived at Mosselbank, I followed the lead of the two women as they waded into the ice cold water. Gingerly, I followed them between the rocks and started looking for the *perrevoete*. Anna handed me an extra knife she had brought and we began prying the *perrevoete* from the rocks. By sticking the tip of the knife underneath the shell and quickly, while applying considerable force, lifting the shell from the rock, they quickly collected the *perrevoete*. The women were talking and drinking beer as they swiftly worked and were quite amused at my attempts. They showed me where to find the biggest ones and cautioned against collecting the smaller ones. Soon we had two plastic bags filled with *perrevoete*. According to regulations, individuals are only allowed to collect twenty-five *perrevoete* a day. That would fill less than half a bag. This is not sufficient to sustain a large family. Twenty-five cooked *perrevoete* as a main course can only feed two or three people. This is why many people just go out to the rocks and collect as many as they can. We leisurely made our way to Anna's house in Hopland.

May is a 56 year old woman who was born and raised in Paternoster. Her husband passed away nearly 20 years ago and consequently she had to raise her four children as a single parent. She told me how difficult it was raising four children alone and what a disappointment it was when both her teenage daughters became pregnant. Her husband died due to an accident while out at sea. The same happened to her son who drowned at the age of 18 whilst out at sea with other fishermen. She speaks of these incidents with a lot of sadness and there is some resentment towards the ocean for "taking" her husband and son. As she told me what had happened to them, she would repeatedly say, *Die see het hulle gevat* / The ocean took them. This seems to be the plight of a number of the widowed women in Paternoster. Many of their husbands either died in a fishing-related accident or due to illnesses resulting from the hard work required of those working at sea.

May stays by herself in a small one-bedroomed house in Kliprug. She has lived in this house for nearly thirty years and, because she was born in Paternoster, she knows almost everyone in her area. She thus has numerous well-established social and food networks from which to draw. Her two daughters and grandchildren live in Saldanha and she sees them only occasionally. May is unemployed and receives money from her daughters. She receives anything from R800 to R1000 monthly, but this is subject to how much disposable income her daughters have and how much they feel like giving their mother monthly. This is not much and she is often forced to borrow money from friends where she can. Buying her daily essentials at high prices on credit from one of the local tuck-shops, referred to as *mobiles* by the community, is a common daily practice for her and many others in Paternoster. At month-end most of her disposable cash is paid to the mobile tuck shop and she has to take groceries on credit again. This is a perpetual cycle of debt that those who don't have other means are caught in.

In this context, gathering shellfish is a very important source of supplementary food which becomes important in managing household food security. To prepare her *perrevoete,* she goes down to the beach and collects as many limpets as she needs. Occasionally she will collect some black mussels too and add them to the mix. After cleaning and finely grinding the *perrevoete,* she goes to the nearest mobile shop which is down the street from her house and buys an onion, two tomatoes and a small packet of curry powder and turmeric. Sometimes, if she can afford it, she will buy a green pepper. The process of preparing the *perrevoete* starts with her chopping up the onion and tomatoes and sautéing them together with the spices and green pepper, if she has one. The *perrevoete* are then added and cooked, and depending on the time of the month, are served with either bread or rice. Ideally, the dish is served with rice, but if she does not have the money to buy rice, it is eaten with one or two slices of bread. The total cost of this meal is no more than R18. Because May stays alone this meal is easily divided into two or three servings and depending on whether she shares this with neighbours or family, portions can be eaten over more than one day.

Image 4: *Perrevoete* cleaned and de-shelled (author's photograph)

This simple meal which is high in protein and low in fat, both nutritious and cheap, is thus one that proves to be important not only to May, but to other households that are at risk of being food insecure in Paternoster. The preparation of this meal becomes a reflection of gender and socio-economic status. Not only does May engage in a food activity that is commonly considered to be women's work, but her dependency on these collected foods indicates her socio-economic status. For May the collecting of *perrevoete* is not a recreational activity. Collecting food forms an essential component of the coping strategies she employs in an attempt at maintaining food security.

Anna and May often go out to collect *perrevoete* together. The space where they collect the food becomes transformed into a gendered space where women who depend on collected food can exchange food narratives and advice on preparing food and the various ways of attempting to ensure the food security of their respective households. The process of collecting shellfish provides the women with a space not only to discuss food practices, but also to talk about problems that they might be experiencing at home as well as catch up on local gossip. This space allows the exchange of food memories about food socialization and, like the kitchen, becomes an important site for gender

performance. This is one food network that has been established between these two women. They have known one another for a very long time as both were born and raised in Paternoster. There is thus an established food route between these two households. The fluidity of these food networks is reflected in the routes through which food travels. In this instance the food map can be traced with the starting point being the sea and food moving from there to Hopland and Kliprug.

Anna is 42 years old and stays in Hopland in a rented informal structure in someone's backyard with her partner and young child. She is employed seasonally at one of the guesthouses in Paternoster where she works as a cleaner. The only time that she is assured of employment is during the peak tourist time of the year, and especially during the crayfish season. Despite the fact that the development of the guesthouses in the town is a point of contestation for many of the community members, it has benefitted those who are employed as cleaners. Her partner is not permanently employed either and does odd jobs in Vredenburg or occasionally goes out to sea with other fishermen without a permit. Many times Anna and May share resources like cooking oil, fish, rice or bread. Like in the case of May and Anna collecting seafood, the process of preparing a meal is generally not a solitary act. Whatever resources these women have at their disposal are pooled through the food networks that have been established and in so doing attempt at ensuring that there is food on the table. The knowledge that women have of food is invaluable and for this basic reason, their experiences and knowledge should be taken into account when dealing with issues of food security.

For May and Anna collecting food and drawing on established social and food networks are important means of managing food security in their respective households. Although this is not the only food that is consumed in their households, these are the foods that become crucial in the desperate times when there is no other source. For many households where there is no regular income these coping strategies are fundamental for a consistent source of food security. In many cases when women might not be able to assist one another within their food network with money they can assist each other through sharing collected food. The giving of money might not always be in a food network by itself, but rather being in a reciprocal network of gifts and obligations, lending and borrowing. In this analysis May and Anna represent those households in Paternoster which are most likely to be in danger of being food insecure.

While food like *perrevoete* is valued nutritionally by some women, it has come to be considered low status food by others. The households who are dependent on these collected foods are the households that are often most food insecure. This resource can only be accessed by those who possess the knowledge of how to collect *perrevoete* and who are physically capable of doing so. Apart from *perrevoete* collected foods include white and black mussels and alikreukel.

Fish and other marine resources like *perrevoete* have both negative and positive connotations for those living in Paternoster. Marine resources have historically been fundamental to the diet and nutrition of the community. Simultaneously, fish and crayfish are associated with a past where many of the people from Paternoster were much poorer and more directly dependent on the ocean and what they could harvest from it. Before I went to Paternoster, I had this perception that the people there ate fish and seafood every day. I was quickly corrected and some of the people I spoke to were quite adamant about the fact that they do not only eat fish like in "the old days". There is an interesting duality at play here because even though a large majority of the community is dependent on marine resources both directly and indirectly, there is a negative connotation to being solely dependent on this. What I deduced from this negation of eating fish all the time is that it is associated with the past and possibly a greater degree of material poverty. Even though there are many households in Paternoster that are in danger of being food insecure, there are new foodways that place the household food providers and food managers in a better position to secure food in the household, depending on their income. There are three mini-bus taxis which travel in an out of Paternoster, providing those who can afford the taxi fare with the opportunity of accessing supermarkets in Vredenburg that sell products at a more affordable price than the tuck-shops in Paternoster. The guest houses that have been built over the years and the holiday-makers they attract facilitate the start of new foodways. These foodways take the form of food often directly from the holiday-maker's table or food bought with the money generated through working at one of these guesthouses.

In Paternoster the act of collecting *perrevoete* as food falls within the domain of women's work. This is a food activity that has a long history in the village and it is knowledge that has been passed on for generations. Just as the physical techniques required for collecting food has been transmitted, so too have the various techniques of preparation. Each woman knows what ingredients to use, especially in a context of limited resources, to make the meal enjoyable for her and her family or friends. Madge states that "women experiment and innovate with domestic techniques while drawing on long-held sustainable practices to produce an inherently flexible and a socially and politically embedded knowledge inventory" (1994: 291). This means of food collection, albeit somewhat risky, is key to the navigation of everyday provision of food for many of the unemployed women in Paternoster but also becomes a means through which to strengthen existing food networks and establish new ones.

Buying on credit

Many of the households in Paternoster depend to some extent on the food networks that exist between them. For many of the households an important foodway exists between them and the tuck-shops in

the community. Before there were taxis that regularly travelled between Paternoster and Vredenburg, the only way in which one could go to Vredenburg was to ask someone who had a car to take one along. This often proved to be a challenge and could only be a trip that happened infrequently. Vredenburg is 13 km away from Paternoster and many of the people there do not have their own transportation and depend on the taxis to take them to the shops and back. A return trip to Vredenburg costs them R40 and an additional R10 to reach the shopping mall situated away from the town centre. This, among various other reasons, gave rise to the establishment of tuck-shops in the community. These shops are highly convenient, albeit somewhat more expensive than large supermarkets and serve those who cannot go to Vredenburg freely for shopping. Given the fact that there are varying levels of poverty in Paternoster, some of these tuck-shops offer community members the opportunity to buy items on credit. The shop-keepers will have a book in which to note all purchases done on credit and a careful record is kept throughout the month until the debt can be settled. The reason why many of the community members make use of these tuck shops is because they can buy from the shop throughout the month and only pay at the end of the month right there.

Liena, a 76-year-old woman, is dependent on the tuck-shops in her street for her weekly necessities. Liena stays a few houses across the road from May in an informal wooden structure in someone's yard in Kliprug. She received a monthly state pension of R1010 (2012). Her husband, who was a fisherman, passed away more than 10 years ago by which time her daughter had already moved out of the house. Liena takes care of her two grandchildren who stay with her during the week. Walking up to her house, I overheard her speaking to Sarah, the woman in whose yard she stays, from whom she had borrowed R10. It was in the middle of the month and she did not have any money to buy electricity. Liena immediately told me about all the problems at her house: how her yard isn't properly fenced and how the neighbours used her water for years without her knowledge.

Because of the debt that she has incurred at the tuck shop, Liena barely has any disposable cash and relies heavily on the monetary support of her daughter. The money Liena receives from her daughter for looking after her grandchildren is not a fixed amount and varies monthly between R200 and R400. She explained to me that that month she had to pay her Lewis Furniture account of R400 in addition to the mobile tuck shop where she owed the amount of R650. This left her with very little money to work with for the rest of the month. Buying the groceries at the mobile shop is her only means of securing food. She said that occasionally her son would give her a gift of R150 during the week, but with two grandchildren in the house, this is barely enough. Like in other poor communities, the bulk of the monthly income is spent on purchasing food. There is thus no opportunity to save money.

Liena is familiar with *perrevoete* and the various means of preparing it, but because of her age and deteriorating health she is no longer physically capable of going down to the beach to collect them.

The meals which Liena prepares for herself and her grandchildren are cheap and simple to prepare. On the day that I visited her, I asked her what food she was preparing for the day. Stepping into her small crowded kitchen, she ushered me past a dilapidated washing machine. To the side of the small room there was an old kitchen table covered in a worn plastic tablecloth with faded blue flowers. Thawing on the tiny kitchen sink was a frozen pack of soup bones. Next to it was a small pack of red beans. Whilst showing me what she was planning to prepare, she complained that she did not have money to buy meat for the pot and that the bones would have to do. She still had half a packet of rice that she had saved and explained that she intended to boil it and serve it with the beans and soup bones. This particular meal served as both supper and breakfast for the next day. On other days breakfast would consist of two slices of bread with margarine and a cup of coffee, usually without milk. Food moves from the tuck-shop to Liena's household. As it moves to Liena's household, so too it moves to various other households in the community, forming a web of passages through Paternoster. The difference between the food networks drawn upon by Liena and those involving May is that the movement of food in the network between the households of May and Anna is reciprocal, as they are regularly sharing food with one another. Foodways that are reciprocal are based on trust and kinship or friendship. The food that moves from the tuckshop is not in a network of reciprocity, although postponed payment is also based on trust.

May, Anna and Liena are women who are vulnerable to food insecurity. In order to manage this, they employ various coping strategies all relative to their individual contexts. Drawing on established food networks and maintaining an established food network becomes particularly important. Another coping strategy for many households who are more likely to be at risk for food insecurity, like Liena, is to purchase food and other basic necessities on credit at one of the local tuck-shops. This in itself becomes a very important foodway and means of managing food security.

The importance of regular income

Households that are less likely to be food insecure are those households that receive some sort of regular income. This does not mean that there are not times when the household is at risk, but it does ensure that the likelihood thereof is less.

Kay is one of the tuck-shop owners in Kliprug and is self-employed. She is 65 and stays two blocks away from May. She lives with her husband, Frank, who is a fisherman. He obtained a fishing permit and can thus sell his daily or weekly catch as a means of income. Kay is the owner of one of three local mobile shops in Kliprug that she runs from her house. The other mobile shop owners are a 56-

year-old primary school teacher, Audrey, who stays two blocks away from Kay and a 42-year-old woman, June, who runs a shop with her husband.

After regular visits and conversations with neighbours, I realised that Kay was someone most people in the block went to when they needed something. If one is looking for her, she is most likely to be either at church, or to be found sitting inside her house or outside on the small wooden bench cleaning fish or *perrevoete*. As I was sitting with her in her small kitchen one afternoon, two women came over to ask her for something. One woman borrowed some flour and another wanted some sunflower oil. Kay is a soft-spoken woman and suffers from very poor eye-sight and is partially blind. She has a 32-year-old son, Patrick, who is married to Lucinda, and who stays two houses away in an informal structure in the backyard of another family member. Lucinda is 29 years old and works in Kay's tuck-shop. Even though she and Patrick live on their own, they are considered to be part of Kay's household. This could be ascribed to the fact that they regularly share meals and when Lucinda goes to Vredenburg to do the monthly grocery shopping, she does so for both families. Sharing meals and other resources forms a very important foodway between these two families despite the fact that they do not live under the same roof.

One morning, I went over to Kay for a visit and when I got there, there were already three women standing outside, cleaning a large bucket of *perrevoete* in the morning sun. I joined them and we were all tasked with the various processes of preparing the meal. One of the women showed me how to clean and prepare the *perrevoete*. This is done by using a spoon to scoop out the inside of the shell and expose the meat. After discarding the intestines, they take out the centre part and cut off the heads. Once rinsed off and cleaned, it is ready to be cooked and eaten. One of the four women helping Kay rinsed the *perrevoete*, another woman scooped out the flesh with a spoon and the remaining two women were tasked with chopping off the head and squeezing out the innards. After the cleaning process, the *perrevoete* were roughly chopped in cubes. An onion, a green pepper, two tomatoes, and garlic were also chopped and fried in some oil. The chopped *perrevoete* were then added to the mix and fried. After the frying, Kay whisked two eggs and added them to the mixture. Depending on the available ingredients, a crust could also be made from flour and butter. The whole dish was then baked in the oven. At the end of the cooking, even though the women who assisted in the preparation of the meal might not have contributed any of the ingredients, each was given a portion of the pie. Some of the women chose to eat their portion immediately, at Kay's house, while others took it home. The women who were there that day all lived in Kliprug.

The different ways in which May and Kay prepared the *perrevoete* on the occasions I witnessed the preparation of the dishes point to the different socio-economic statuses of these women. Unlike May, Kay used ingredients that are considerably more expensive. For Kay, preparing and eating the

perrevoete was not out of necessity as for May. Kay prepared this meal because she liked *perrevoete* and also because for the three women that were helping to clean the *perrevoete* this was an important meal. They were far less food secure than Kay and in exchange for collecting and cleaning the *perrevoete*, Kay provided the space where these women could gather socially while preparing them as well as the additional ingredients to a dish that they themselves would in all likelihood not be able to prepare. For a few women, Kay is a very important part of their foodways. Not only does she often provide the space within which these women can prepare food, but through her tuck-shop she provides a service valued by the community.

One of the women, Wilma, is Kay's niece. She stayed with Kay and helped out around the house with washing, cleaning and cooking. The payment she receives is rarely monetary and is usually in the form of clothes or food. Occasionally Kay will pay Wilma whatever she can afford or deems fit. Wilma is unmarried and unemployed and is completely dependent on Kay. The relationship between these two women has a maternal nature. This could be ascribed to not only the difference in age and the cultural norms which prescribe respect for elders but also to the dependence on Kay by Wilma.

As noted earlier, Kay's household is less likely to be food insecure due to the fact that she owns a tuck-shop but also because her husband is a fisherman who has a fishing permit. Two sources of income not only translate to more disposable cash, but also a wider variety of food choices in the household. This in turn, through the established foodways between Kay and her daughter in-law, Lucinda, ensures that Lucinda too has a wider variety of food choices. It should be noted that, despite the fact that this household's level of food security is higher than that of May, Anna and Liena, it is also subjected to the uncertainties accompanying most Paternoster households operating within the context of limited resources in a fishing town.

As mentioned earlier, in Paternoster fish and fishing are regarded by local people as forming the backbone of the livelihood of the community. The supply of crayfish that frequent the shores of Paternoster and the surrounding towns ensures that there is a constant flow of tourists and holiday-makers to the West Coast. Many of the men and women in Paternoster are employed by the numerous guest houses, the restaurants and hotel. This is particularly evident in the crayfish season and major holidays. As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, the Paternoster Hotel and other restaurants and guesthouses provide employment for a considerable number of people. As in the case of Kay, employment and a regular source of income in the household not only contribute greatly to improving levels of household food security, but also significantly change the way in which food moves in and out and between households as well as the type of food in this passage.

Bridgette is one of the women who works at the Paternoster Hotel. She has been working there for the past 12 years. She stays in Hopland but walks to Kliprug every day to visit her elderly parents either

before or after work. She is mother to a 23-year-old son, Jason, who is unemployed, but who goes out to sea daily with other fishermen. Her husband, Colin, is also employed at the Paternoster Hotel where he works as a gardener and general caretaker of the premises. Because Bridgette and her husband are permanently employed at the hotel, they are less dependent on collected food for sustenance than the women who are unemployed. The foodways that she has established as a means of securing food in her household are mainly dependent on groceries bought with her earnings at the hotel, as well as the sharing of food between herself and her extended family. The sharing between family members is not limited to food, but is extended to various other household needs that arise. Food moves between Hopland and Kliprug from Bridgette's house to her parents and back. On many occasions Bridgette goes to Kliprug to cook for her ageing parents and will often take two plates of food home to her husband and son.

Bridgette comes from a large family whose history in Paternoster spans close to 70 years and that has considerable standing in the community. Both her parents were born and raised in Paternoster. This places Bridgette and her household in an advantageous position as she can tap into various existing foodways and food networks that have been established by herself and her family. Bridgette's household is more food secure than most of the households in Hopland.

Image 5: Paternoster Hotel (author's photograph)

Like Bridgette, Rona also works at the Paternoster Hotel. She is 29 years old and stays with her 56-year-old mother, Ellen, her 24-year-old sister Cindy and her 8-year-old daughter, Romie. They live in the far end of Kliprug close to Paternoster Fisheries. Rona's father passed away 10 years ago and her mother never remarried. Both her father and grandfather were fishermen. Ellen is one of the few people who are still employed by Paternoster Fisheries. She works as a cleaning lady in the offices at the factory. Like Rona, Cindy works as a waitress at one of the restaurants in Paternoster. This household consists of women only and everyone in the home contributes towards the general expenses. Because all three of the women are employed, it lessens the burden of managing food insecurity in the household and their household is one of the few households that is food secure. The food networks that have been established by this household move food from one end of Kliprug to the other, to the street where Rona's cousin, Sandra, stays. Food is shared two to three times a week between these households.

As the sun was setting one evening, Rona and I made our way to her cousin Sandra's house. When we arrived there, Sandra brought out a chair and pulled an old beer crate closer for us to sit on. With our

backs against the warm wall of the old house, we sat there talking. There were all sorts of things strewn in the yard and Prince, a black pitbull terrier, was tied with a short rope around its neck to a peg in the ground. When Sandra stepped out of the kitchen to bring me a glass of fizzy cool drink, I could smell the food cooking in the kitchen. Sandra's mother had just finished making baked bean chicken and rice. She called Sandra's 10 year-old son and instructed him to take some of the food she had dished out into a container to her sister Ellen. Clad in pyjamas and slippers, he quickly navigated his way through the yards to deliver the food. This is a common sight in Paternoster. There is always someone carrying food from one household to another through the various foodways that have been established. The type of food that is shared between households ranges from full meals to fish heads and even tea bags.

Like Rona and Bridgette, Collette also works at the Paternoster Hotel. She too was born there and has lived there for the past 33 years. She stays two blocks from Rona and her house is almost right in the middle of Kliprug. She stays in a wooden informal structure with her two daughters. She has never been married and is the primary provider in her household. Waitressing is not a high paying job, especially in Paternoster and in order to get through a month, Collette often borrows money from a family member. In her case regular wage is not a guarantee against financial difficulty. To many, the sharing of food between family members is the most important coping strategy for managing household food security.

Dorinne is 45 years old and works at the Lodge in Paternoster. This restaurant is situated on the seafront of Kliprug, overlooking the ocean and as a result receives a lot of tourists. The constant flow of customers ensures that there is a need for waitresses. Like Collette, Dorinne is also a single parent and has a 21 year old son, Kenneth. He matriculated, but is unemployed and as a means of generating an income he goes out to fish with some of the other fishermen. The foodways that she has established are those between friends and neighbours. One particularly important link is between herself and Joy. They have been friends for more than 15 years. Staying with Joy, a 55 year-old woman, I would see Dorinne regularly come over to the house to borrow something. After she leaves, Joy would complain that Dorinne is always coming around to borrow things from her but rarely has anything to offer in return. Dorinne and Joy stay in the same street and food regularly moves between these households.

Joy and Kay have very similar positions that they occupy in their respective streets. Both women provide support to those who are in need. Joy is an avid baker and she is known for baking cakes and other confectionary items for all festive occasions whether it is someone's birthday or the local church bazaar. Usually she does not charge people for the cakes if it is for a special occasion. On these occasions the cake that Joy bakes is a gift. During conversation Joy mentioned that there was a time that she baked cakes in order to raise additional income in the household, but this didn't last very long

because, as she explained, people were slow to pay. I ascribed this reluctance to pay to the fact that at between R35 and R50 per cake, the cakes had proved too expensive for many people. For Joy, baking and giving someone a cake or biscuits means more than just simply a gift. Being able to do this sets her apart from the rest of the community in terms of socio-economic status, whether perceived or in reality. People in the community therefore treat her with a little more respect even if it might be begrudgingly.

Living with Joy provided me with considerable insight into the general workings of the community. Her small kitchen was the site of many conversations about Paternoster between me and whoever happened to be in the kitchen and when other women from the community came around for a visit, this is where they would sit. I made sure that I was never too far from the kitchen whenever people were gathered there. Joy has three dogs that she loves dearly. She takes very good care of her dogs and because of this she has had to endure a lot of mocking from the rest of the community. Without fail during a conversation, somebody would refer to the food that these dogs get. Even Joy would joke about the food that she gives the dogs. She told me that sometimes she cooks grilled chicken, turkey or steak specially for the dogs and then feeds them that. She said that many people find it funny that the dogs eat food that is actually meant for people. Upon walking through the village and visiting households, I noticed that most of the dogs were not well taken care of compared to Joy's dogs. This speaks to the ways in which certain foods are considered fit for people but not so much for animals. The reason why so many people would mention this is because in Paternoster there are many people who are in danger of being food insecure while she gives the food to the dogs. This has often been the cause of resentment from some. One afternoon I was sitting on the front porch and one of Joy's friends jokingly remarked that she is going to take some of the dog's leftovers home and eat it herself. There is economic differentiation between households and this is manifested in the different levels of expenditure, particularly on food.

One of the women that Joy often helps out is Nina. She is 48 years of age and stays in Hopland with her 24-year-old daughter and 11-year-old grand-daughter. Her daughter works in a retail shop in Vredenburg and contributes as much as she can towards the household. Nina is unemployed and suffers from bad health which makes it difficult for her to find employment. She comes to Joy's house twice a week to do the laundry or to clean the house. Joy cannot always offer her money, but pays her in food or clothes or whatever she has at home. Sometimes, if Joy has disposable cash, she will give this to her but these instances are rare. Nina is the niece of Hein, Joy's husband. Hein's nephew, Johnny, also does some gardening work in the yard when needed. This kind of relationship relevant to access to food is something that I have noticed in a few households that I visited. For Nina's household, the foodway that has been established between her own household and that of Joy is a very important one. Food often moves from Joy in Kliprug to Nina in Hopland, and when it is within her

means, she will send over food to Joy too. On many afternoons when Nina was working at Joy's, her grand-daughter, Lucretia, would come to the house after school and wait for Nina to finish. During this time Joy would make sure that Lucretia got something to eat. Most times this would be a few slices of bread with peanut butter and a cup of tea. As in the case of the tuckshop, the movement of food here is in one direction. This is an indication that the basis for this relationship is different from those that are based on reciprocal social links enveloped in trust relations and in this case was based on a sense of social obligation to a relative.

This chapter has explored how the gendered division of labour in Paternoster impacts on the choices of food security strategies employed by women which included women's work such as collecting food, buying on credit from tuckshops in the community, employment at guesthouses and the establishment and maintenance of foodways and food networks. In the context of changing fishing regulations and the implications these changes have on employment in Paternoster, many alternative strategies for ensuring food security within the household have had to be deployed. I noticed that in Paternoster it is mainly the women who manage these reciprocal flows of food. This proved to be important in the management of food insecurity within the household. The food relationships which exist between households are indicative of the ways in which women manage food security in the context of limited resources. In many cases women who are most likely to be at risk of experiencing food insecurity, like May and Anna, pool their resources and through reciprocal sharing ensure that their households remain relatively food secure. More often than not, as discussed earlier, these households are heavily dependent on harvesting marine resources and are more likely to be less resourced in cash with which to purchase store bought foods. Women like Joy and Kay, who are better off socio-economically, initiate and also maintain new foodways between households.

In Paternoster there is differentiation between households and the levels of food insecurity within these households. Despite these differences one thing that is displayed is the agency of women. In the light of changing regulations within the fishing industry, the history of small-scale fishing communities and the gendered division of labour, women's roles have shifted from being managers of household food security to also being providers of income in many cases. These changes highlight the important role that women play in the management of household food security in Paternoster.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

As noted in my introductory chapter, in this thesis I aimed, firstly, to explore the role that women play in the management of household food security in a context of poverty and irregular income opportunities. Secondly I aimed to unpack to what extent the income opportunities and decline in traditional male jobs have impacted on gender relations with particular regard to household food security. And thirdly I considered the social and symbolic nature of food and the ways in which culturally ascribed meanings to food impacts on household food security.

The increase in mechanization in marine resource use activities, drastic changes in fishing policies and the process of fisheries rights allocations as well as diminishing fish stocks are systematically impacting on the social systems and lived experiences of the people who were, and still are, heavily dependent on the fishing industry in Paternoster for their livelihoods. This is the wider context for this study. One of the major consequences, as set out in this study, is the feeling of impending food insecurity experienced by many households. In an attempt to understand the ways in which many households in Paternoster manage to remain food secure in the face of these challenges, this thesis has explored the various strategies employed, with particular emphasis on the role of women. I also explored the changing gender relations within households and the impact of this on the management of household food security.

People in Paternoster, as in other coastal regions in the country, have been engaged in fishing and various other marine resource use activities for many generations. Stories about fishing and harvesting of marine resources have been passed on from generation to generation. With the telling of stories, knowledge gets shared and archived in the minds of those keen to listen. In Paternoster today these stories often evoke a sense of nostalgia for a past that is seen to have been simpler, a time when the fishing sector and the jobs therein were less insecure. Thus, despite the fact that many mentioned that they were materially poorer in that remembered past, older fishermen and other members of their households, including older women, reflected on feeling more food secure then than now.

These feelings of nostalgia are often manifested in a portrayal of an essentialised view of Paternoster as an idyllic, untouched, fishing village in which local households were able to depend on marine resources for their survival. This view of Paternoster resonates with the image evoked in the minds of holidaymakers and tourists who flock to Paternoster specifically to experience its 'untouched' beauty. The image is not without a basis in reality. A large part of the fishing community in Paternoster is still primarily dependent on marine resource activities. These are households that depend on the daily catch, and, especially where permits have been acquired, on the selling of fish and crayfish. Many households, however, are only indirectly dependent on marine resource activities in Paternoster.

While marine resources remain significant sources of food security, the income generated from marine resource use is often more important as an indirect source of food security for households in Paternoster. The appeal of Paternoster as a historical fishing community to tourists now plays an important part in the food security of the village. Both men and women in Paternoster benefit from the employment generated through the numerous guesthouses that have mushroomed over the years. Tourists and holidaymakers frequenting Paternoster ensure that there is a regular flow of customers to the hotels and restaurants which in turn employ a significant number of men, but predominantly, women. Here we see the emergence of several new foodways in Paternoster generated through the gentrification and consequent tourist appeal of the village and its history.

The discussion on women and the management of household food security in Paternoster led to the conclusion that in order to meaningfully understand the ways in which women manage food security in Paternoster, the intersection of gender and food and the social and symbolic importance of food within a context of limited resources, need to be considered.

Interrogating the experiences of women with regard to food requires an examination of gender and gender relations. According to Van Esterik:

> a consideration of gender recontextualizes food and repositions it within power relations of households and nation states. Home is a place, an attitude, a locality. An examination of home requires that we put priority on relations between people. Home also evokes a sense of bodily comfort, including a sense of physical security … home is also a place to feed and be fed; and here the food rights, cultural rights and the rights of women intersect most clearly (1998: 230) .

Despite the pervasiveness of discourses of gender equality in South African society since 1994, women continue to do the majority of food work in households in Paternoster. Van Esterik posits that there is a special relationship between women and food. In most cases food work is women's work - from food production and acquisition, to serving at home and planning meals. She states that women's identity and sense of self are often based on their ability to feed their families and others and for this reason food issues and the problem of food insecurity need to be analysed through a gender perspective. Similarly Julier and Lindenfeld state that "performing food labour is intertwined with performing gender. The control of food production and consumption is inextricably tied up with issues of power and position ... gender has been a major axis along which power has been distributed" (2005: 4). There is a large body of anthropological research that is in agreement that generally it is women who are the primary managers of food within households – planning meals, purchasing or harvesting or growing the raw materials, cooking and serving food in the household. Dominant gender discourses continue to influence

how food practices and engagement with food are understood. Gender plays a deciding factor in the ways in which societies function. According to Ridgeway & Correll,

> [g]ender is not primarily an identity or role that is taught in childhood and enacted in family relations. Instead, gender is an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference (2004: 510).

Thus in the case of Paternoster, fishing has been practised as traditionally a masculine undertaking, meaning that women have until recently been largely excluded from fishing itself, and have primarily been involved only in the pre- and post-harvest phases. This is due to the gendered division of labour in the fishing industry where women generally stay at home or work in the fishing factories and men go out fishing. This disproportionate division of labour is rationalized through both explicit and implicit gendered assumptions. These assumptions include women's seemingly natural inclination for maintaining the wellbeing of the family or household.

My research explored this intersection and what emerged was that one of the important strategies employed to ensure food security within households in Paternoster is the establishment and maintenance by and among women of foodways in and between households. An exploration of foodways between households sheds light on the various social networks that exist in Paternoster and the important role of women within these networks. As discussed earlier, the task of women within the household is to ensure that whatever food the household has access to, whether through established foodways or through income generated by employment, is distributed in such a way that everyone within the household is fed. In addition to this responsibility, women and in certain cases men, also have to manage and sustain the foodways that exist between households through reciprocal sharing so as to ensure the sustainability of these emerging food networks. This maintenance of foodways becomes especially important in households where food insecurity is an imminent threat as seen in the case of May and Anna. In this study I found that the management of food security within the household and between households through maintaining foodways and established food networks was predominantly the responsibility of women.

An important conclusion of this thesis is that, despite the efforts that have been made in the regulatory fishing environment with the introduction of a new legal framework which recognizes subsistence fishermen as a legitimate group of fishermen and with a revised fisheries rights allocation, the socio-economic conditions of many of these poor fishermen have not improved. The revision of the fisheries rights allocation process was intended to rectify past injustices and improve the socio-economic conditions of fishers who had been subjected to systematic historical exclusion. However,

the view of many fishermen and their families is that socio-economic conditions have worsened. This is largely ascribed to the fact that until 1998 only commercial and recreational fishing were formally recognized by law. Consequently subsistence fishing had been neglected by fisheries management authorities. After the legal recognition of subsistence fishing, these fishermen could legally fish, granted they were in possession of a subsistence fishing permit. There has, however, been a lack of clarity surrounding rights allocation and where rights have been allocated, it has been slow. The MLRA and the reform it started have been criticized for being focused on internal instead of external challenges. The focus of the reform has been on Black Economic Empowerment initiatives within management structures instead of addressing the injustices faced by fishermen on the ground, particularly small-scale fishermen. To address the problems faced by fishing communities like Paternoster, an integrated and holistic approach to managing small-scale and subsistence fisheries needs to be taken. This entails taking into account the history of the fishing communities as well as the current socio-economic context and considering the specificity of each community. It is also critical that there be equal participation between the fishing communities and managing authorities so as to foster positive relationships between all the parties involved in the quest for sustainable livelihoods.

In addition to the slow reform within fisheries management, many fishermen have complained about the lack of communication between policy-makers and local fishing communities. Some have advocated that there be an adoption of a co-management model of fisheries policy-making and implementation. In Paternoster some local fishermen argue that the ocean has always provided and that claims of dwindling stocks are merely strategies employed by the state to further exclude small-scale fishermen. This could either be ascribed to denial on the part of the fishermen, or point to their genuine lack of information on the state of marine resources along the West Coast, or, indeed, a more lenient disposition towards commercial fisheries than to subsistence fishers from the side of the state. In any case it reflects the need for effective communication channels between the state and local fishing communities. In Paternoster many fishermen feel that they are not being consulted on decisions that are made which directly impact on their livelihoods. Many have expressed sentiments of feelings of neglect and abandonment by the state and there is a sense of helplessness within the community. In Paternoster these feelings of exclusion and neglect are manifested in various ways, one of them being acts of openly defying the fishing restrictions.

Since gender norms organize women's and men's work and responsibilities in society, as is the case in the fishing industry in Paternoster and elsewhere, it is important to consider the way in which these gender norms and the consequent division of labour impact on household food security. In Paternoster fishing is considered men's work and historically women have generally been limited to pre and post-harvest fishing activities. One of the primary functions of women is the management of food security

within the household and with the changes in the regulatory environment within the fishing industry, many women have shifted positions from not only managers but also providers of income.

This is a significant way in which gender relations within the household have shifted in Paternoster. Ambiguous and contested power relations between the sexes are often enacted around access and use of food (Agarwal 1997). This includes the various restrictions on food and food processes. This is most evident in fishing communities like Paternoster where there are both formal restrictions on food and food processes in the form of fishing permits, and social norms and practices within the community. Not only are there very strict cultural rules that are adhered to with regards to fishing and food provision, but food acts are heavily inscribed with symbolic and often metaphoric meaning. The strict cultural rules adhered to in Paternoster include the gendered nature of work which relegates women to the household domain and excludes women from fishing. These norms are perpetuated in practice and in everyday discourse with statements like 'women don't fish' regularly popping up in everyday conversation.

The particularity of Paternoster as a fishing village is indicative of larger social relations, discourse and meaning that are attached to food and food works. Chapter Four explored the ways in which the social and symbolic meaning of food is translated in the food works in Paternoster and particularly the importance of fish and fishing as a symbol of community. Many of the people in Paternoster self-identify as being members of a fishing community and the occupational quality of fishing is often superseded by the communal and symbolic significance thereof. As mentioned in Chapter Three a community institution like 'Fish Mondays' is indicative of the ways in which the social and symbolic meaning of food is transferred into rituals that form the fabric of the community.

The importance of food, and specifically fish, can be seen in the way in which Paternoster is constructed as a fishing village and how community identity is formed around this idea of fish and fishing. Marine resources in Paternoster have various cultural and social roles which blend the pragmatic and the symbolic functions it performs in the community. This blend of the pragmatic and symbolic is often reflected in the memory of food and the ways in which fishers and the rest of the community talk about fish and other marine resources. This is particularly evident in Paternoster because of the very nature of the economy of the town. This intersection between memory and food and the processes involved in managing and securing food in Paternoster becomes a useful lens through which to view the ways in which the community makes sense of the changing regulatory fishing environment, gendered division of labour, women's engagement with food, and community identity and solidarity or lack thereof.

In understanding the symbolic value of food, this thesis has also explored the symbolic relationship between women and food in relation to others. Fish in Paternoster is embedded in symbolic meaning. Food also plays a very specific role in the social interaction between people, and this can be seen in

notions of what constitutes good conduct, or *ordentlikheid,* with regards to eating. *Ordentlikheid* is also closely related to sharing of food with others. People who do not share but who have the means to do so are often considered to be not *ordentlik*.

An important means of ensuring household food security in Paternoster is the use of assets and capabilities within the household and engaging in a variety of activities geared toward ensuring that the household is food secure. These activities vary and include activities such as contributing to the household through employment, seasonal or permanent, collecting food, and the establishment and maintenance of foodways and food networks in and between households. These networks speak to the local routes which food travels in Paternoster, the socio-cultural relations of food, and the individuals and locations implicated in this passage. In Paternoster these activities are strategies employed mainly by women within households. In addition to the establishment and maintenance of food networks between households, women employ various additional coping strategies like collecting food and taking out loans.

This study has explored the ways in which women navigate the everyday provision of food, as sustenance, but also as part of processes establishing and maintaining gender norms and respectability under difficult economic conditions. As Van Esterik noted in her 1998 article on the intersection of women's rights and the right to food, a consideration of gender recontextualizes and repositions food security within power relations of households, not only as nation states, and allows for a more holistic understanding of the context-specific ways in which women manage the levels of food security within the household. In Paternoster the management of food security in the household is a responsibility that is taken on by many women within households. The various strategies employed by women to avert hunger and the threat of food insecurity in Paternoster illustrate the ways in which women draw on historic and culturally transmitted knowledge around food access, utilisation and distribution in conjunction with new employment opportunities to effectively ensure food security within households.

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